STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA
3 0144 00376055 0

S

CLASS 909 BOOK Sa 34

VOLUME 21

PENNSYLVANIA
STATE LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
This project is made possible by a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services as administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Education through the Office of Commonwealth Libraries

https://archive.org/details/vol21modernhisto00salm

Modern History;

OR, THE

PRESENT STATE

Penn'a State Library

OF All NATIONS.

DESCRIBING

Their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals and Minerals.

By Mr. SALMON.

VOL. XXI.

Contains the latter Part of the Reign of King *JAMES* I. and most Part of that of King *CHARLES* I.

Illustrated with CUTS.

LONDON:

Printed for THO. WOTTON, at the *Three Daggers* and *Queen's Head* against St. *Dunstan's* Church; J. SHUCKBURGH, at the *Inner-Temple-Gate*; both in *Fleet-Street*: and T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*. MDCCXXXIV.

THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

XXIst VOLUME.

THE Treaty of Marriage between Prince Charles *and the Infanta of* Spain Page 4, 35, 43, *&c.*

The Acceſſion of the Prince Palatine to the Throne of Bohemia, *and the Conſequences of it* 6, 50, & ſeq.

The Differences between King James *and his Parliament, relating to their Religious and Civil Grievances* 19, 25, 30, *&c.*

The Treaty of Marriage between Prince Charles *and a Daughter of* France 45, 49.

The War with Spain 44, 46, 50.

The Death and Character of James I. 52.

His Title 56.

Statutes paſſed in the Reign of James I. 62.

Peers created in the Reign of James I. 68.

The Acceſſion of King Charles I. 73.

35479

Differences between King Charles *and his first Parliament, concerning the Duke of* Bucks, *&c.* 76, 80.
The Expedition againſt Cadiz 84.
Differences between King Charles *and his ſecond Parliament, in relation to the Duke of* Bucks, *&c.* 87, 89, 91, 94, *&c.*
Extraordinary Ways of raiſing Money in this Reign, eſpecially Ship-money 97, 98, 136, 161, 167, 173.
The War with France, *the Attempt to relieve* Rochelle, *&c.* 102, 103, 105, 121.
The Differences between King Charles *and his third Parliament concerning the Duke of* Bucks, *and the extraordinary Ways uſed to raiſe Money: Religious Grievances*, &c. 111, 113, 117, 120, 124.
The Peace with France *and* Spain 131.
The Proſecution of Sir John Elliot, *and other ſeditious Members of the Commons* 132.
A Character of the Puritans in this Reign 147, 155.
The King crowned in Scotland 151
The State of the Church of England *while Doctor* Bancroft, *Doctor* Abbot, *and Doctor* Laud, *poſſeſſed the See of* Canterbury 152, 153, 154, 155.
The State of the Church in the Reign of Charles I. 168, 172.
The Trial of Prynn 158. *Of* Prynn, Burton *and* Baſtwick 170, 231, 236.

Diſputes

Diſputes with the Dutch *concerning the Dominion of the narrow Seas* 165.
The Scots *confederate with the* Engliſh *Malecontents againſt the Government* 176, 178, 179, 181, 184, 189, 326, 340.
The State of the Church of Scotland 176.
The King's firſt Expedition againſt the Scots 186.
Rapin's *Hiſtory of the firſt twelve Years of King* Charles I. *conſidered* 198. *Other Parts of it conſidered* 260, 268. *Conceſſions in* Rapin 332.
The Differences between King Charles I. *and his fourth Parliament, held* Anno 1640 205, 208.
The King's ſecond Expedition againſt the Scots 217.
The Scotiſh *Invaſion* 218.
The Differences between King Charles *and his laſt Parliament* 231, 236.
The Impeachment of the Earl of Strafford 233, 234, 247.
The Impeachment of Archbiſhop Laud 239, 246, 384.
The Whig Mobs inſult and influence the Parliament 229, 231, 249.
An Act for perpetuating the Parliament 233.
The Uſurpation of the Commons 234, 247, 249, 257, 272, 274, 278, 304.
All Grievances redreſſed by the King 236, 239.

The

The King resigns his Soveraignty to Scotland 241.
The Irish *Massacre* 242, 294.
Five of the Members of the Commons charged with High-Treason 251.
The King driven from Whitehall 254.
Acts of Parliament that declare all Resistance of the King unlawful 262.
Concessions in the Commons Remonstrance, which shew the Faction to be notorious Traytors and Rebels 273.
The Commons arm the Militia against the King, whereupon he raises a Guard for his Person 279.
An Answer to the Whig Charge, That King *Charles* I. was more arbitrary than any of his Ancestors 299.
The Commons raise an Army against the King, besides the ordinary Militia 305. *Seize his Revenues, and levy Taxes arbitrarily on the People* 308, 312, 330, 374.
The King erects his Standard at Nottingham 311.
The first Battel between the King and the Rebels at Edghill 316. *The Battel of* Stratton 343. *The first Battel of* Newbury 364. *Of* Marston-Moor 376. *The second Battel of* Newbury 381. *The decisive Battel of* Naseby 390.
A Treaty between the King and the Faction at Oxford 341.
The Assembly of Divines formed 349

The Scots *invade* England *a ſecond time* 355, 371.
The Solemn League and Covenant agreed on between the Engliſh *and* Scotiſh *Rebels* 366.
Cromwel, *an Account of him* 359, 417, 419, 425, 427, 432.
He imitates Mahomet 368.
The Oxford *Parliament ſummoned by King* Charles I. 373.
The Duties of Exciſe firſt levied by the Rebels 374.
The Marquis of Montroſe *reduces great Part of* Scotland *to the Obedience of his Majeſty* 381.
The Service of the Church of England *aboliſhed* 384.
The Treaty of Uxbridge ib.
The King leaves Oxford, *and goes to the* Scotiſh *Army* 403.
The Scots *ſell their King to the* Engliſh *Rebels* 410.
The Army ſeize on the King's Perſon at Holmby 418.
The King eſcapes from Hampton-Court *to the* Iſle of Wight 430.

Order

Order of placing the CUT.

King *Charles* I. Page 73

THE HISTORY OF *ENGLAND.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

Continuation of the Reign of JAMES I.

THE following Year came the Archbiſhop of *Spalatto* to *England*, where he renounced the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, and preach'd and wrote in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion: Whereupon his Majeſty gave him the Deanery of *Windſor* with the Care of the *Savoy*; but whether he expected greater Preferment, or for what other Reaſon, is not known, he returned to *Italy* again, ſix Years afterwards, and declared himſelf a true Catholick: However, his Sincerity was call'd in queſtion there, and he

A.D. 1617
15 *Jam.* I.
Abp. of *Spalatto* turns Proteſtant.

*A.D.*1617 was thrown into the Priſons of the Inquiſitions, where he died.

15 *Jam.* I. Notwithſtanding the King's Treaſury was extremely low at this Time, he thought fit to make a very expenſive Viſit to his native Kingdom of *Scotland*, where he ſtaid about ſix Months, and made ſome Progreſs in eſtabliſhing Epiſcopacy in that Kingdom. In the mean time, Sir *Walter Raleigh* having been releaſed out of the *Tower*, and deſtitute of Employment, propos'd to the Miniſtry the undertaking a Voyage to *Guiana*, a Province on the Continent of *America*, where he had ſome Aſſurance there were Gold Mines; to which the King conſented: And ſuch was his Reputation, that a great many Gentlemen and Merchants became Adventurers with him, fitting out ten Ships of Force, with ſome Land Forces on board. They ſet ſail from *England* in the Month of *Auguſt*; and arriving at the Mouth of the River *Orenoque*, Sir *Walter* detach'd five Pinaces, with as many Companies of Foot (of which one was commanded by Captain *Keemiſh*, who had formerly diſcovered a Gold Mine in this Country; and another by Captain *Walter* *A.D.*1618 *Raleigh*, the General's Son.) Theſe Gentlemen landed their Forces near the Town of 16 *Jam.* I. *St. Thomas*, of which they made themſelves Maſters, but found the Mine near it ſo well fortified and defended, that after ſome fruitleſs Attempts, and loſing ſeveral Men, among whom was Captain *Raleigh*, the General's Son, they were obliged to return to their Ships, without Hopes of effecting what they intended. Sir *Walter* afflicted at his Son's Death, and the Miſcarriage of the Deſign, began to reproach *Keemiſh* that he had ruin'd

The King viſits *Scotland*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Expedition to *Guiana*.

ruin'd him, by putting him upon ſo impracticable an Enterprize; which ſo deeply affected *Keemiſh*, that he retir'd to his Cabbin, and ſhot himſelf; but the Shot not reaching his Vitals, he ſtabb'd himſelf with his Knife, and died immediately of his Wounds. Nor were the reſt of the Officers leſs apprehenſive of the King's Diſpleaſure, or their ill Succeſs, than the General and *Keemiſh*, and therefore propoſed the ſailing to *France* or *Italy*; but Sir *Walter* prevailed on four of his Ships to return to *Ireland* with him, where he remained till he enquir'd how the Court of *England* ſtood affected; and being, by ſome falſe Friends, encouraged to hope that he ſhould be favourably received, he came at length to *England*, where he no ſooner landed, but he was apprehended and committed to the *Tower*, from whence he made his Eſcape, and being retaken, was beheaded in purſuance of the Sentence paſs'd on him in the firſt Year of this Reign for High-Treaſon; but, in reality, for his late Enterprize againſt *Guiana*, at the Inſtance of *Gondomar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who look'd upon that Country as his Maſter's Property, and *Raleigh* as the moſt dangerous Enemy to the *Spaniſh* Nation. King *James*, 'tis obſerved, meanly conſented to ſacrifice this great Man to the *Spaniards*, rather than break off the Marriage-Treaty between his Son the Prince, and the Infanta; and that under Pretence of an Offence, which all the World look'd upon as forgiven, Sir *Walter* having not only his Liberty granted him, but being conſtituted General and Admiral, by a Commiſſion which gave him the Power of Life and Death, and even of pardoning capital Offences in others, which

A.D. 1618
16 *Jam.* I.

He is ſent Priſoner to the *Tower* on his return.

*A.D.*1618 could not have been exercis'd by a Perſon attainted of High-Treaſon, unleſs he had been (at leaſt virtually) pardoned by the King, as he was generally eſteemed to have been. He was beheaded on the 29th of *October* 1618, in the 66th Year of his Age.

16 *Jam.* I.

and beheaded.

The Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the Infanta of *Spain*, ſtill went forwards, and ſome Articles were concluded on; As that the King of *Spain* ſhould procure the Pope's Diſpenſation, that the Children of this Marriage ſhould be at liberty to profeſs either the Catholick or Proteſtant Religion, and their Titles not be prejudiced by it; That the Infanta's Family might be Catholicks, with a competent Number of Eccleſiaſticks; That the Marriage ſhould be ſolemniz'd in *Spain*, after the manner of the Council of *Trent*, and afterwards in *England*, after the Uſage of that Church.

Articles of the Marriage between the Prince and the Infanta.

Nor was the King ſo taken up with this Match, but he intereſted himſelf very much in the Diſputes that happened at this Time in *Holland*, between the *Arminians* or Remonſtrants, and *Calviniſts*, concerning Free-will, Abſolute Decrees, *&c.* wherein the King took the Part of the *Calviniſts*, however that Sect came to charge him with an Inclination to Popery. He appeared ſo zealous in this Diſpute ſome Years before, that when *Vorſtius*, the Head of the Remonſtrants in *Holland*, was choſen Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, he interpoſed with the States, by his Ambaſſador *Winwood*, not to admit *Vorſtius* to that Employment: And when he found the States averſe to comply with him, he cauſed the Books that *Vorſtius* had publiſhed, to be burnt in *London* and the Univerſities

The King engages in the religious Diſputes in *Holland*.

verſities of *England*; and again wrote to the States to diſplace him. And tho' the *Dutch* did not follow his Majeſty's Advice immediately, he prevailed upon them, at length, to call a Synod at *Dort*, to which Dr. *Carlton* Biſhop of *Landaff*, and ſeveral other *Engliſh* Divines, were ſent; and here he not only procured the Doctrines of the Remonſtrants to be condemned; but Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* falling in with the King's Notions, *Barnevelt*, *Grotius*, *Hogenberts*, and *Leydenberg*, the Chiefs of the Remonſtrants, were ſeiz'd and committed to Priſon. *Barnevelt* was afterwards beheaded, *Leydenberg* ſtabb'd himſelf in Priſon, and *Grotius* and *Hogenbert* being condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, the former had the good Fortune to eſcape into *France*. Thus did King *James* interpoſe with a foreign Power, more than upon any other Occaſion whatever, to procure the Presbyterian Doctrines of Abſolute Decrees, Reprobation, *&c.* to be eſtabliſhed; and yet the Brethren never ceas'd to call him a Papiſt, and charge him with promoting and encouraging Popery. In which, the admir'd *Rapin*, is pleas'd to follow them, for no other Reaſon, than becauſe this Prince would not eſtabliſh their *Geneva* Plan in the room of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; tho' they agree with him in Doctrine, they will never forgive him that he wou'd not ſubmit to their Scheme of Church Government.

A.D. 1618
16 *Jam.* I.

Engliſh Divines at the Synod of *Dort*.

Barnevelt, *Grotius*, &c. condemn'd in *Holland*.

K. *James* a *Calviniſt* in Doctrine.

The following Year Queen *Anne* died of a Dropſy at *Hampton-Court*, on the Firſt Day of *March*, in the Forty-ſixth Year of her Age; which ſome of our Hiſtorians obſerve, was the beginning of King *James*'s Troubles, for

A.D. 1619
17 *Jam.* I.

Queen *Anne* dies.

*A.D.*1619 for about this Time arose a kind of religious War in *Germany*, in which his Son and Daughter, the Prince and Princess Palatine, being unfortunately engaged, he could not avoid sharing their Afflictions in some measure, how much soever he was inclin'd to preserve the Peace of *Europe*, and especially of his own Dominions. I shall give as short an Abstract of these Transactions as possible.

17 *Jam.* I.

The King's Son, the Palatine, possesses himself of the Crown of *Bohemia*.

The Emperor *Mathias*, in the Year 1616, caused his Cousin *Ferdinand* to be crowned King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and to be recogniz'd by the States of *Bohemia*, with this Restriction, That he should execute no regal Act in the Emperor's Life-time, without his Consent: And *Ferdinand* residing at *Gratz* in *Stiria* at this Time, the Administration of the Government was lodg'd in the Privy-Council of *Bohemia*, who were generally Roman Catholicks, and, as 'tis said, very much discountenanc'd and oppress'd the *Bohemian* Protestants, who were then very numerous. Whereupon the Nobility of that Persuasion assembled at *Prague*, in order to procure a Redress of their Grievances, and levy'd Forces at the same Time to support their Pretensions. The Council sending a Deputation of their Members to the Protestant Barons, to demand the Occasion of this Insurrection, the Barons threw three of them out of the Castle Windows where they were assembled, *viz.* the chief Justice, and another Member of the Council, with the Secretary of State; and levying more Forces, expelled the Jesuits out of the City of *Prague*, looking upon those Fathers as the Authors of their Oppressions. They sent indeed to excuse these Proceedings

Proceedings to the Emperor; but both Sides however ſoon took the Field, and ſeveral Skirmiſhes happen'd between the Imperial and Proteſtant Troops. The Emperor *Mathias* dying, *Ferdinand* not only ſucceeded to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, but was afterwards elected Emperor. *A.D.*1619 17 *Jam.* I.

The *Bohemian* Barons of the Proteſtant Intereſt, notwithſtanding they had acknowledged *Ferdinand* for their King in the Reign of the late Emperor, ſent privately, and offer'd the Crown of that Kingdom to *Frederick* the Vth, Elector *Palatine*, who had married the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the King of *England*; and the Elector, after it had been refus'd by ſeveral other Princes, accepted the Offer, and was crowned King on the 4th of *November* 1619; whereupon he ſent to his Father-in-law King *James*, to excuſe his having accepted that Crown without conſulting him; which he had not done, he ſaid, if the Caſe would have admitted of any Deliberation. King *James* entirely diſapproved of the Palatine's aſcending the *Bohemian* Throne, looking upon it as a very ill Precedent, that the *Bohemian* Lords ſhould take upon them to depoſe one King and ſet up another, in a tumultuous manner, without any colour of Authority. And he was the more concerned in this Event, as he foreſaw it would engage him in many Difficulties, and probably draw him into a War, which he abhorr'd more than any thing in the World.

Nor was it long before the Emperor caus'd the Palatine and his Adherents to be proſcribed, required all People to abandon him, and diſcharged even his Subjects of the *Palatinate* *A.D.*1620 18 *Jam.* I.

*A.D.*1620 — 18 *Jam.* I.

latinate from their Allegiance, declaring their Elector was become a Rebel to the Empire. He alſo commanded his Generals to advance into the *Palatinate*, who deſtroy'd the Country in a terrible manner: Whereupon ſome of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* took the Field in Behalf of the Elector; and King *James* was prevailed on to ſuffer three or four thouſand *Engliſh* Volunteers to join his Son's Troops in the *Palatinate*; but the Emperor's Generals coming to an Engagement with the Palatine near *Prague* in *Bohemia*, on the 8th of *November* 1620, the *Bohemians* were entirely defeated, the Palatine, their late elected King, with his Queen the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, were obliged to fly into *Sileſia*, and afterwards to *Holland*; and he loſt not only the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, but moſt part of the *Palatinate*. The Duke of *Bavaria*, the Emperor's General in this War, was advanced to the Dignity of Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, in the room of the depoſed Elector *Frederick* V. and the *Upper Palatinate* was conferred on him as a Reward of his Services.

The Palatine proſcrib'd.

The *Palatinate* invaded.

His Forces defeated in *Bohemia*.

K. *James* cenſured without Reaſon, for not ſupporting his Son on the Throne of *Bohemia*.

It is taken for granted, I perceive, by ſome Writers, that if King *James* wou'd have raiſed a powerful Army, and aſſiſted his Son-in-law, he might have eſtabliſhed that Prince upon the Throne of *Bohemia*, and preſerved the *Palatinate*: But they acknowledge, at the ſame time, that the King did not approve of his Son's Title to *Bohemia*; for the States of that Kingdom, Proteſtants and Papiſts, had already acknowledged *Ferdinand* the Emperor for their King; and they would not, ſurely, have had King *James* engaged in a War to ſupport a Uſurpation; at leaſt, what he, in his Conſcience, look'd upon as ſuch. But beſides,

A.D. 1620
16 Jam. I.

beſides, let any Man conſider the Circumſtances of the Caſe, and he will find, it had been by no means prudent for King *James* to have become a Party in this War. The Palatine's Enemies were the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, both of them powerful Princes, and their Dominions in the Neighbourhood of the *Palatinate*. They had Armies alſo of veteran Troops in their Service, ready for Action; whereas King *James* had neither Forces or Treaſure to raiſe any; and if he cou'd have aſſembled an Army in an Inſtant, the Place of Action was ſo far diſtant, and ſo difficult of Acceſs, the Territories of Princes of a different Intereſt lying between, that I don't ſee how it was poſſible for him to have ſupported the Palatine on the Throne of *Bohemia*, if he had been never ſo much enclined to it: And as he was in a Treaty with *Spain*, and had Hopes of protecting his Son's hereditary Dominions that way, it would have been Folly and Madneſs in him to have provok'd a Court from whom he had ſuch Expectations, when he could only have ſhewn his Teeth, and had no Probability of meeting with Succeſs in the Field. 'Tis true, the Court of *Spain* did impoſe upon King *James*, and made uſe of the Treaty of Marriage between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta* to amuſe him. But had his Majeſty been as much enclin'd to Popery, as his Enemies affirm, and wou'd have conſented to the Reſtoration of it in *England* in all Particulars (but the Pope's Supremacy) as they ſuggeſt, the *Spaniards* would not have delay'd the Match a moment; he would have been ſupported by them and all the Catholick Powers in *Europe*, and might have render'd himſelf

The Charge of the King's being Popiſhly affected, ridiculous.

*A.D.*1620 — 16 *Jam.* I.

as abſolute as his Enemies pretend he would have been: which is a Demonſtration to all impartial Men, that King *James* was not Popiſhly affected; that he never intended to reſtore Popery, or to govern by Will and Pleaſure, without any Regard to the Laws. And tho' his Enemies charge him with making too large Conceſſions to the Papiſts in the *Spaniſh* Treaty, it is evident one principal Reaſon the Treaty was broke off, was, becauſe he would grant no more in favour of the Papiſts. Nay, it appears that Liberty of Conſcience alone would have ſatisfied them, which it never would the Puritans, who are the Authors of thoſe Calumnies thrown upon King *James*, and from whom their Brother *Rapin* has taken them. The utmoſt that the King of *Spain* cou'd procure by that Treaty, was, that his Majeſty wou'd not proceed *capitally* againſt his Subjects of the Catholick Religion, if the Marriage took effect. The great Failing in this Reign, was the King's ſuffering himſelf to be govern'd too much by his Favourites or prime Miniſters: *All his Privy-Council rode upon one Horſe*, as a certain Writer obſerves, which was certainly of pernicious Conſequence to the State; tho' other Princes have ſuffer'd the ſame, and met with better quarter from the Brethren. His Favourite *Villars*, tho' he is univerſally acknowledged a Man of Parts and Courage, yet conſidering his Youth, and want of Experience, was too ſuddenly advanc'd to the great Poſts he poſſeſs'd. He was already Maſter of the Horſe, and Marquis of *Buckingham*, and was this Year created Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and had the Diſpoſal of all Places and Preferments under the King: In which,

Villars made Marquis of *Bucks*, &c.

'tis

'tis obſerv'd, he conſider'd chiefly his own Relations. But however the King might be influenc'd in many Things by this Favourite, it is evident he was not eaſily perſuaded by him to act contrary to his pacifick Maxims. *Buckingham* was a brave enterprizing Man, and would have engaged the King in a War much ſooner than he did, but his Majeſty had ſo much Wiſdom to foreſee that it could never be for the Advantage of the Crown in his Circumſtances, tho' he was at laſt brought into it with great Reluctancy. Had he never yielded to it, his Son had probably gone to his Grave in Peace. But to return, *Villars* being ſo much in his Prince's Favour, his Mother was created Counteſs of *Bucks*, her eldeſt Son made Viſcount *Purbeck*, and her ſecond, Earl of *Angleſey*; and Sir *Lionel Canfield*, who married one of her Relations, was made Lord Treaſurer (upon the Reſignation of Sir *Henry Montague*) and afterwards Earl of *Middleſex*; *Montague* being made Preſident of the Council, and created Earl of *Mancheſter*. *Villars*, who had hitherto been a general Lover, 'tis ſaid, at length fix'd his Affections upon the Earl of *Rutland*'s only Daughter and Heir, and married her this Year. Some have ſuggeſted he would have abandoned this Lady, as he had done ſeveral others, after he had obtained the laſt Favour, but that her Father threatened him, that if he would not repair his Daughter's Honour by marrying her, his high Poſt ſhould not protect him from his Reſentment. But this is by no means probable; the Marquis wanted no other Inducement to conclude this Marriage, than the Lady's Fortune, who was eſteemed the richeſt Heireſs in the Kingdom.

A D. 1620
18 *Jam.* I.

Creations.

Villars marries a rich Heireſs.

A.D. 1620

18 *Jam.* I.

K. *James* sollicits a Toleration for the *French* Protestants.

In the mean time the Protestants in *France* being oppress'd and persecuted by *Lewis* XIII. King *James* interposed in their Behalf, and sent Sir *Edward Herbert* his Ambassador thither, who was instructed to take the properest Methods to procure Liberty of Conscience for them, and even to threaten the *French* King if he refused it: But that Monarch was too well acquainted with King *James*'s pacifick Temper and Circumstances, to be under any great Apprehensions on that Account. However, this shews that his Majesty was not altogether unconcerned for the Protestant Inrest, whatever his Enemies may have suggested to the contrary.

A.D. 1621

18 & 19 *James* I.

The *Palatinate* being in a manner lost, as has been intimated already, except the three Towns of *Heidelburg*, *Manheim*, and *Frankendale*, which were garrison'd by the *English* Forces there, the King appeared to be under a great Concern for his Son and Daughter, the Prince and Princess *Palatine*: For tho' he would by no means encourage the Usurpation of the Crown of *Bohemia*, yet he seem'd determin'd not to suffer the Palatine to be driven out of his hereditary Dominions. And as he could not expect to prevent this by a Treaty alone, unless he appeared prepared to assist him with his Forces, in case his Mediation was not accepted; he thought fit to call a Parliament to meet on the 30th of *January*, in order to obtain such Supplies as might enable him to carry on a vigorous War, in case he could not procure the Restoration of the Elector's Territories in an amicable way. The King, at the Opening of this Parliament, made a Speech to both Houses, wherein he observes,

The Parliament meets.

obſerves, 'That the Parliament is an Aſ- *A.D.*1621
'ſembly compoſed of a Head, and a Body; 18 & 19 *James* I.
'the Monarch the Head, and the *Three* An Abſtract of the King's Speech miſ-recited by *Ruſhworth*.
'*Eſtates* the Body. [*Ruſhworth* in the Ab-
'ſtract he gives us of this Speech, makes the
'King ſay, *The Parliament is a Thing compo-*
'*ſed of a Head, and a Body; the Monarch and*
'*the Two Eſtates.* From whence it is obſer-
'ved, that *Ruſhworth* was either not very
'juſt or very careful in his Collections.] He
'proceeds, and ſays, that theſe Eſtates in a
'Monarchy, are call'd a Parliament, which
'was created by Monarchs: (That in Re-
'publicks there are no Parliaments, but
'Councils and Aſſemblies.) That the Peers
'were call'd in reſpect to the Eminency of
'their Places, and have an Intereſt therein
'by Birth and Inheritance. The Heads of
'the Clergy, the Biſhops, were call'd as well
'in regard of the Holineſs of their Lives,
'which claim'd a Privilege in Advice, as in
'reſpect of their Baronies. And the Knights,
'Citizens, and Burgeſſes, as repreſenting the
'ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Corporations.
'Of theſe the whole Body was compoſed, to
'the end they might adviſe the King in his
'urgent Affairs, where he ſhould aſk it of
'them. And as the King makes Laws, they
'are to adviſe him to make ſuch as are for
'the good of the Commonwealth; and as
'they beſt know the State of the ſeveral Coun-
'ties and Boroughs, to inform him what
'was amiſs, and to petition him for Redreſs.
'And laſtly, they were to offer what they
'thought fit to ſupply his Wants, and he
'was to afford them Mercy and Juſtice in lieu
'thereof.' Thus King *James* expreſſes him-
ſelf in the beginning of his Speech to this Parlia-
ment;

*A.D.*1621 ment; which I thought proper to recite, that
18 & 19 *James I.* People might judge for themſelves, and not be deluded by the falſe Comments and Miſrepreſentations of *Rapin* and the fanatick Tribe, who do not give us either the King's own Words, or the true Senſe of them, but ſuch as they apprehend to be moſt for the Advantage of their Cauſe.

The King proceeds and obſerves, 'That as 'to Religion, there were Laws enough, if 'they were duely executed; that 'twas true 'the Prieſts and Jeſuits perverted many, and 'the Puritans were very buſy in perſuading 'People; but God forbid he ſhould compel 'Men's Conſciences; he left them to the 'Laws of the Kingdom. As to the Rumour 'that was ſpread, that he ſhould tolerate 'Religion in reſpect to the Match with '*Spain*, he profeſſed he would do nothing 'therein which ſhould not be honourable 'and for the good of Religion; and if any 'thing broke off the Match, it ſhould be 'Religion.

'That the principal End of his aſſembling 'this Parliament, was for a Supply of his 'urgent Neceſſities; that he had reigned 'eighteen Years, in which they had enjoy'd 'a conſtant Peace; and if that was held a 'Fault in him, he begg'd they would par-'don it: They had ſat quietly under their 'Vines and Fig-Trees, and had not been 'troubled with the preſſing of Men, and o-'ther Calamities of War; and in theſe eigh-'teen Years, he had received leſs Supplies 'than any King before him, that the late 'Queen, one Year with another, receiv'd an 'Hundred and thirty-five thouſand Pounds 'of them; whereas he had never above four

'Subſidies,

A.D. 1621
18 & 19 James I.

'Subsidies, and Six Fifteenths of them (amounting to between Four and five hundred thousand Pounds) in his whole Reign; that it was ten Years since he had received any Supplies of them; that if he had formerly been look'd upon as profuse in his Expences, he had of late Years retrench'd them beyond any of his Predecessors, as well in his Houshold, as in the Navy and Ordnance; in which he had been much assisted by his young Admiral (*Bucks*) whom he found faithful and honest; and observ'd he had wisely constituted Commissioners under him, to preserve him from Errors: That he hop'd the Kingdom would now acknowledge he had a true Care of his Estate, not taking from others, by Violence, House or Land, but governing his own with good Husbandry.

'That another Reason of his calling them together, was the distracted State of *Christendom*, which he was far from being the Occasion of: He had no hand in his Son's mounting the Throne of *Bohemia*; he wou'd not meddle in it for several Reasons; he wou'd not make Religion the Cause of deposing Kings, he left that to the Jesuits: Nor wou'd he, in the second place, make himself a Judge between a King and his Subjects, especially in a Case where his Son was a Party: That he had, however, endeavoured to save the *Palatinate*, permitting a Contribution for that End, which amounted to 75,000 *l.* which he borrowed of the King of *Denmark*, and had since made it up an 100,000 *l.* And that indeed the Defence of the *Palatinate* had cost him already above Three hundred thousand

'Pounds,

*A.D.*1621 — 18 & 19 *James* I.

‘ Pounds, beſides the voluntary Contributi-
‘ on: That he muſt be arm’d againſt the
‘ next Summer, that he might treat of Peace
‘ with his Sword in his Hand; and declared
‘ if he could not recover the *Palatinate* by
‘ fair Means, that his Crown, his Blood, and
‘ his Son’s Blood, ſhould be ſpent to regain
‘ it: That the Cauſe of Religion alſo was in-
‘ volv’d in it, for Religion would be alter’d
‘ if it was conquer’d: That nothing, how-
‘ ever, could be done without a ſpeedy Sup-
‘ ply, *Bis dat qui cito dat*; and he truſted
‘ they would not fail him any more than they
‘ had done his Predeceſſors: That they ſhou’d
‘ conſider it was their King that mov’d them;
‘ his Care of the Reformation, and the Char-
‘ ges he had been at in this Caſe, beſides
‘ 40,000 *l.* it had coſt him in ſuppreſſing Py-
‘ rates (in the *Mediterranean.*) That they
‘ might have been informed he had hindered
‘ the Courſe of Juſtice; but that he had ne-
‘ ver, directly or indirectly, deſir’d the Jud-
‘ ges to act contrary thereto; and had made
‘ coice of Men of Integrity and Learning to
‘ fill thoſe Seats; and if they prov’d unjuſt,
‘ he would not ſpare them: That in ſome
‘ Grants he might have hurt himſelf, and in
‘ others his Subjects; but if he was rightly
‘ inform’d, he would reform them; howe-
‘ ver it was not their Buſineſs to hunt after
‘ Grievances to the Prejudice of the King:
‘ That at his firſt coming he was guided by
‘ the Counſellors of the late Queen. After-
‘ wards there happened a Miſunderſtanding
‘ between him and his Parliament. There
‘ aroſe a kind of Beaſts, call’d Undertakers,
‘ whom he abhorr’d; and theſe cauſed a Diſ-
‘ ſolution. He had now called them of his

‘ own

'own free Motion, and rely'd on their good Offices. He was ambitious of the Honour 'of being rever'd and lov'd by his People, 'and of loving them again; for then ſhould 'he be reſpected by his Neighbours, and 'perhaps his Government made an Example 'to Poſterity.' A.D. 1621 — 18 & 19 James I.

A Supply granted.

The Commons, to encourage his Majeſty to continue his Endeavours for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, granted him two Subſidies, (which amounted to upwards of Two hundred thouſand Pounds.) But as this was very ſhort of enabling him to enter into a War with the Emperor and King of *Spain*, they came to a Reſolution to aſſiſt his Majeſty to the utmoſt of their Power, with their Lives and Fortunes, that he might be enabled to accompliſh that by his Sword, which could not be effected in a peaceable way. Whereupon the King ſent the Lord *Digby* Ambaſſador to the Emperor, to know his laſt Reſolution in relation to the *Palatinate*, and, in the mean time, adjourn'd the Parliament to *November* following, that all Bills might continue in the Condition they were. He alſo repealed ſome Patents that were thought grievous to the Subjects, *viz.* one for levying a Sum on every Inn and Alehouſe, with an annual Revenue; and the other, for the ſole making of Gold and Silver Lace; which the Patentees, Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, and Sir *Francis Mitchel*, had abus'd, mixing Braſs and other baſe Metals with the Gold and Silver; for which both of them were fin'd, and *Mitchel* was carry'd through the City with his Face to the Horſe's Tail, but *Mompeſſon* made his Eſcape beyond Sea.

The Emperor's laſt Reſolution demanded.

Monopolies revok'd.

*A.D.*1621

18 & 19 *James* I.

The Lord Chancellor *Bacon* convicted of Bribery.

In this Parliament the Lord Chancellor *Bacon* was convicted of taking Bribes in Suits depending before him, in numerous Instances, and confess'd them all, in hopes of having a favourable Sentence pass'd upon him; but the Great Seal was taken from him, and he was adjudg'd incapable of setting in the House of Lords; besides a great Fine laid upon him; and being very much in Debt before, he liv'd afterwards in uneasy Circumstances in his Chambers at *Gray's-Inn*; where, however, he compos'd some admirable Pieces: But I refer the Reader to the State-Tryals last publish'd, for a full Account of his Tryal and Disgrace. Dr. *Williams*, Dean of *Westminster*, was made Lord Keeper in *July* following.

Dr. *Williams* succeeds him.

The Lord *Digby* returning from his Embassy to the Emperor, the Parliament was assembled again on the 20th of *November*; when the Lord Keeper *Williams* made a Speech to both Houses (his Majesty being absent on account of some Indisposition:) He acquainted them, that since their Adjournment, the King had, by his Proclamation, reform'd no less than thirty-seven Grievances they had complain'd of; that he had assembled them again upon the Resolution they had taken to assist him in the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; for his Endeavours to accommodate Matters by a Negotiation, had not met with the Success he might have expected, as the Lord *Digby* would inform them. He acquainted them also, that his Majesty had expended Forty thousand Pounds in keeping up an Army of *Germans* in the *Palatinate* under Count *Mansfield*, besides the Charges he had been at in maintaining his own Troops there;

Thirty-seven Grievances redress'd,

there; and that if the Parliament did not grant a further Supply, and that ſpeedily, all his Majeſty's Endeavours to preſerve the *Palatinate* would be fruſtrated. Then the Lord *Digby* gave an Account of his Embaſſy, declaring there was nothing to be expected from the Emperor by Treaty, he having promiſed to confer the *Upper Palatinate* on the Duke of *Bavaria*; that a Sum of Money muſt be raiſed forthwith for Count *Mansfield*'s Army, as well as for a further Reinforcement of *Engliſh* Troops, or the Elector Palatine would probably loſe his Dominions. The Commons, however, were little moved by theſe Repreſentations; and, without Regard to the Reſolution they had made to aſſiſt his Majeſty in this War with their Lives and Fortunes, fell upon their Grievances, and ſpent their Time in drawing up a tedious Remonſtrance, not with a View of having their Grievances redreſs'd, but to quarrel with his Majeſty, that they might be excus'd from raiſing the Supply, as *Rapin* himſelf admits, *Vol.* IX. *p.* 464. They charge him in this Remonſtrance with encouraging Popery, telling him, *That it had a reſtleſs Spirit, and that if it once got a Connivance, it would paſs for a Toleration; if that ſhould be obtain'd, they muſt have an Equality: From thence they would aſpire to Superiority, and would never reſt till they had ſubverted the true Religion.* (Which proved literally true of the Puritans themſelves, who obſerved this pretty Gradation in the next Reign.)

A.D. 1621

18 & 19 *James* I.

Another Supply demanded.

The Commons fall upon their Grievances, and neglect the War they had engaged the King in.

Their Remonſtrance.

Then they proceed and adviſe his Majeſty to draw his Sword effectually, and not to marry his Son to a Popiſh Princeſs. They direct him alſo in what Manner he ſhall pro-

A.D.1621 18 & 19 *James* I.

ſecute the War, and put the Laws in Execution againſt Popiſh Recuſants; which if he gratified them in, forgave ſuch Forfeitures as were due to the Crown, and paſs'd ſuch Bills as they ſhould offer to him, they would then advance him another Subſidy (amounting to about 100,000 *l.*) Which was in effect to tell his Majeſty, he muſt expect nothing from them, unleſs he would be govern'd by them. After which, can any impartial Man reflect upon the King's Conduct for not proſecuting the War, and endeavouring, by Treaty, to extricate himſelf out of thoſe Difficulties the Commons had brought him into, by promiſing to aſſiſt him with their Lives and Fortunes, and then deſerting him?

The King refuſes to receive it.

The King being acquainted with the Subſtance of the Remonſtrance, ſent a Meſſage to the Speaker, to let him know he would not receive it. However, the Commons drew up a Petition to his Majeſty, and ſent it him by twelve of their Members, together with the Remonſtrance. Upon which Occaſion, 'tis ſaid, his Majeſty call'd for twelve Chairs, for the twelve Kings that were come to him.

The Petition of the Commons.

'In this Petition the Commons ſtill inſiſt 'that the Roman Catholicks ſhould be diſ-'countenanced, and the Laws put in Execu-'tion againſt them, whoſe Increaſe and In-'ſolence was viſible; that they did not in-'tend to encroach upon his Royal Autho-'rity; they acknowledg'd that it belong'd 'to him to reſolve on Peace or War, and 'the Marriage of his Son; but as they were 'the Repreſentatives of the Commons of '*England*, and had a large Intereſt in the 'Proſperity of his Majeſty and his Poſterity, 'and in the flouriſhing Eſtate of the Church

'and

A.D.1621
18 & 19 James I.

'and Commonwealth, they were induced by 'their Cares and Fears, truly and plainly to 'demonſtrate thoſe Things to his Majeſty, 'which might not otherwiſe come clearly to 'his Knowledge; and hop'd his Majeſty 'would receive their former Declaration 'and Petition which they had ſent by theſe 'Meſſengers, and vouchſafe an Anſwer to 'ſo much thereof as concerned Jeſuits, Prieſts, 'and Popiſh Recuſants, the paſſing of Bills, 'and his Royal Pardon relating to Forfei-'tures: And as he ſeem'd to reſtrain them 'from meddling with Matters of Govern-'ment, or private Matters in the Courts of 'Juſtice, the proper Subject of Parliamentary 'Enquiries, and to abridge them of their 'antient Liberty of Freedom of Speech, they 'did, in all Humility, pray his Majeſty to 'allow the ſame.'

The King received the laſt Petition, but rejected the Declaration or Remonſtrance, with the Copy of their former Petition; and ſome few Days after, ſent the Commons an Anſwer in Writing: In which he tells them, 'That if their firſt Petition and Remonſtrance 'had come to his Hands, he ſhould have an-'ſwered them in the Words of the late Queen 'to the *Poliſh* Miniſter, *That he expected an 'Ambaſſador, but beheld a Herald:* He had 'reaſon to expect they ſhould have thank'd 'him for redreſſing ſeven and thirty Things 'they complained of ſince the laſt Adjourn-'ment, and not to have followed him with 'ſtill more Complaints of the Danger of Re-'ligion, tacitly charging his Adminiſtration 'in this Particular, and giving the People an 'ill Opinion of his Government, which he 'did not think conſiſtent with their Duty:

'That

A.D. 1621 — 18 & 19 *James* I.

'That they firſt preſume to give him their 'Advice to match his Son with a Proteſtant, 'diſſuade him from a Match with *Spain*, and 'urge him to enter upon a War immediate-'ly with that King, and then pretend they 'never intended to encroach upon his Royal 'Prerogative; as if petitioning him in Mat-'ters they themſelves confeſs'd they ought 'not to meddle with, was not a meddling 'with them: And indeed, by their general 'Expreſſions, they ſeemed to aſſume a Power 'of determining every thing, as the Puritan 'Miniſters did in *Scotland*, who brought all 'Cauſes within the Compaſs of their Juriſ-'diction, on one Pretence or other. How 'could they determine any thing concerning 'his Son's Match, without committing of 'High-Treaſon? Beſides their talking of the 'Match after the manner they did, was a 'direct Breach of his Commands, profeſſing 'that he was ſo far engaged in that Treaty, 'that he could not in honour go back, ex-'cept the King of *Spain* refus'd to perform 'his Engagements.' And having declared this to them at the beginning of the Parliament, he wonder'd that ſhould not have ſtopped their Mouths in that Particular. He obſerved alſo, 'That when the Parliament 'petitioned the late Queen to marry, they 'did not pretend to limit her either as to 'the Time or the Perſon, or ſhe would have 'reſented it, as he might very well do in 'this Caſe, eſpecially after he had declared 'his Intentions. As to that part of their Pe-'tition relating to Religion, they might reſt 'ſecure he would do all he cou'd to propa-'gate the Proteſtant Religion, and ſuppreſs 'Popery; but the manner they muſt leave

'to

A.D.1621
19 Jam. I.

'to his Care, who could beſt conſider the 'Times and Seaſons: He ſhould not, however, make a religious War of it, the Hazard and Difficulty whereof, they might judge of: Nor did he think it proper to be done by a hot Perſecution of Recuſants at home, whereby he ſhould provoke foreign Princes of a contrary Religion to perſecute the Proteſtants in their Dominions, for whom he was now interceding; tho' he never intended to ſpare any Papiſts who grew inſolent under his mild Government: That he ſhould alſo take care that the Youth of the Kingdom were well educated, and not brought up in Popiſh Seminaries; of which he had already given ſome Proofs, and was ready to paſs any Acts for that Purpoſe.

'He thought it ſtrange they ſhould make ſo bad a Conſtruction of his Words, as if he meant to reſtrain their antient Rights and Privileges; whereas it was evident, he intended no more than that they ſhould not meddle with Matters of War and Peace, or with his Son's Match. As to forbidding them to meddle with ſuch Things as were ordinarily determined in the Courts of Juſtice, he meant only Sir *Edward Coke*'s fooliſh Buſineſs; and it became that Gentleman, as he was the King's Servant, and one of his Council, to have complained to him firſt, which he never did: That altho' he could not allow of the Stile of their Petition, calling them *their antient and undoubted Right and Inheritance*, but could rather have wiſhed that they had ſaid, *That their Privileges were derived from the Grace and Permiſſion of him and his Anceſtors*; (for

'moſt

*A.D.*1621 — 19 *Jam.* I.

'moſt of them grew from Precedents, which 'ſhew'd rather a Toleration than Inheri-'tance) yet was he pleaſed to give them his 'Royal Aſſurance, that as long as they con-'tained themſelves within the Limits of their 'Duty, he would be as careful to maintain 'and preſerve their lawful Liberties and Pri-'vileges as ever any of his Predeceſſors were; 'nay, as to preſerve his own Royal Prero-'gative, ſo as their Houſe need only take 'care how they trench'd upon the Preroga-'tive of the Crown, which would enforce 'him, or any juſt King, to retrench them 'in their Privileges, that would pare his Pre-'rogative and Flowers of the Crown. But 'of this he hoped there would never be 'Cauſe given.' This Anſwer was dated at *New-Market*, 11 *Dec.* 1621.

In the mean time, the Lords obſerving that great Numbers of *Iriſh* Earls and Viſcounts had been made of late out of the *Engliſh* Gentry, who pretended to take place of the *Engliſh* Barons, preferred a Petition to the King, ſhewing, That the Nobility of *England* were prejudiced thereby, and therefore deſired that they might challenge and preſerve their Birthrights, and take no more notice of thoſe Titulars to their Prejudice, than the Laws of the Land did; and not give them the Reſpect and Place as they did to Noblemen Strangers.

A Petition againſt the creating *Iriſh* Peers.

What his Majeſty did on this Occaſion, is not very clear from our Hiſtorians, who tell us only, that this Petition did not derogate from the Dignity of thoſe Creations paſs'd, tho' the King willingly reſtrain'd himſelf for the time to come. From whence it might be inferred, that the King reſolved that the *Iriſh*

Iriſh Earls and Viſcounts already made, ſhould take place of the *Engliſh* Barons in publick Aſſemblies; and yet 'tis related, that the King *cloſed* with the Petition of the *Engliſh* Nobility: From whence one would be induced to think he conſented the *Engliſh* Earls and Viſcounts ſhould not take place of the *Engliſh* Barons. *A D.* 1621 19 *Jac.* I.

But to return to the Commons: Some of the moſt factious taking an Advantage one Evening when moſt of the Houſe were abſent, drew up the following Proteſt againſt the King's Anſwer; *viz.* 'That the Liber- 'ties, Franchiſes, Privileges, and Juriſdic- 'tions of Parliament, are the ancient and 'undoubted Birthright and Inheritance of 'the Subjects of *England*; and that the ar- 'duous and urgent Affairs concerning the 'King, State, and *Defence of the Realm*, and 'of the Church of *England*, and the Main- 'tenance and making of Laws, and Redreſs 'of Miſchiefs and Grievances which daily 'happen within this Realm, are proper Sub- 'jects and Matter of Counſel and Debate in 'Parliament; and that in the handling and 'proceeding in thoſe Buſineſſes, every Mem- 'ber of Parliament hath, and of right ought 'to have, Freedom of Speech to propound, 'treat, reaſon, and bring to Concluſion the 'ſame: And that the Commons in Parlia- 'ment, have likewiſe Liberty and Freedom 'to treat of theſe Matters in ſuch Order as 'in their Judgments ſhall ſeem fitteſt: And 'that every Member of the ſaid Houſe hath 'like Freedom, from all Impeachment, Im- 'priſonment, and Moleſtation (other than by 'Cenſure of the Houſe itſelf) for, or con- 'cerning any Speaking, Reaſoning, or De- 'claring

A Proteſt of the Commons in Vindication of their Privileges.

A.D. 1621 — 19 Jac. I.

'claring of any Matter or Matters touching 'the Parliament, or Parliament Buſineſs. 'And that if any of the ſaid Members be 'complain'd of, and queſtion'd for any thing 'done or ſaid in Parliament, the ſame is to 'be ſhew'd to the King, by the Advice and 'Aſſent of all the Commons aſſembled in 'Parliament, before the King give Credence 'to any private Information.'

The King being highly provok'd at this Proteſt of the Commons, came to *London*, and on the 30th of *December*, in a full Aſſembly of the Council, and in the Preſence of the Judges, at *Whitehall*, with his own Hand, rent the Proteſt out of the Journal-Book, which he had order'd to be brought to him by the Clerk, commanding an Act of Council to be made thereupon: Wherein he declares, That though he was offended with the Form of the Proteſtation, he never intended to deny the Houſe of Commons any lawful Privileges that ever they enjoyed, but that the ſame ſhould be inviolably preſerved to them: But however, he thought it proper that this Proteſtation ſhould be razed out of all Memorials and annihilated, both for the Manner in which it was obtain'd, and the Matter of it: That it was made at a Time when a Committee of the Commons attended his Majeſty at *New-Market*, with a Petition for continuing the Seſſions till after *Chriſtmas*, which he had graciouſly granted them: That it was brought into the Houſe after it was dark, and the Queſtion put when there were not a third part of the Members preſent; whereas it was not uſual to put any Thing of Importance to the queſtion, but in a full Houſe: That ſome ſtanding up to ſpeak

The King takes the Proteſt out of the Journal-Book.

ſpeak againſt it, could not be heard, ſo great was the Confuſion. And then for the Matter of the Petition, it was penn'd in ſuch ambiguous Terms, as might ſerve in future Times to invade moſt of the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown. The Words of the Writ *arduis Regni*, being cunningly mention'd, but the Word *quibuſdam*, which reſtrain'd their Conſultations to ſuch particular Caſes as his Majeſty pleas'd to conſult with them about, being purpoſely omitted. *A.D.1621* 19 *Jac* I.

On the 6th of *January* following, his Majeſty diſſolv'd the Parliament by his Proclamation, wherein he declares, 'That tho' the 'continuing and diſſolving of Parliaments 'was one of the Prerogatives of his Crown, 'and he need give no account thereof to any 'one, yet he thought fit, at this Time, to 'declare ſome of his Reaſons for diſſolving 'the preſent Parliament, that the World 'might be convinc'd he intended to have 'made this the happieſt Parliament that ever 'was aſſembled: That he was far from im-'puting any of thoſe ill Accidents that had 'happened, to the want of Duty or Affec-'tion of the Commons in *general*, or the 'greater or better part of them, there having 'paſſed more infallible Tokens of Affection 'between him and them ſince their meeting, 'than have been obſerv'd between the Sove-'reign and the Parliament in any former 'Age. *A.D.1622* Diſſolves the Parliament. His Proclamation thereupon.

'That this Parliament was call'd chiefly 'for the ſettling Peace and Religion, in this 'Time of miſerable Diſtraction throughout '*Chriſtendom*, and the reſtoring his Children 'to their Patrimony; which he attempted 'firſt to procure by Treaty, yet with full

A.D. 1622 — 19 & 20 *James* I.

'purpoſe, if that ſucceeded not, to recover it 'by the Sword; in order to which it was 'neceſſary his Treaſury ſhould be ſupplied.

'That the Parliament had for ſome 'Months proceeded with great Harmony, 'and readily granted a Supply; and he, on 'the other hand, had given up ſeveral De-'linquents they complained of to Juſtice, 'not excepting the firſt Officer of the King-'dom (Lord Chancellor *Bacon*:) That the 'Seſſion having been extended to an unuſual 'Length, he let them know he intended to 'adjourn the Parliament on the 4th of *June*, 'for ſeveral weighty Reaſons.' At which ſome of the Commons were offended (queſtioning his Prerogative to adjourn them) and would have perſuaded the Lords to have joined in a Petition with them againſt it, but the Lords refus'd. 'That then his Majeſty 'offered to paſs an Act, That all Buſineſs 'ſhould remain in the Condition it did at 'their next Meeting: Which Bill having 'gone through the Houſe of Lords, was re-'jected by the Commons without reading; 'and they ſhew'd their Diſcontent by not 'proceeding in any Buſineſs. That his Ma-'jeſty then offered to indulge them a Fort-'night longer, that they might perfect ſuch 'Bills as they eſteemed of moſt Importance: 'But the Commons rejected this, and accep-'ted the firſt Offer of an Adjournment; 'which Inconſtancy he paſſed by with a gen-'tle Admonition, and afterwards redreſs'd 'many of their Grievances, tho' they had 'not thought fit to preſent them to him: 'That he adjourned the Parliament on the '4th of *June*, as the Commons deſired; and 'he would do them that Juſtice, that they 'had,

'had, with unanimous Consent, come to a *A.D.*1622
'Resolution, to assist him with their Lives
'and Fortunes to recover the *Palatinate*, if 19 & 20 *James* I.
'he could not effect it by Treaty.

'That having sent the Lord *Digby* Am-
'bassador to the Emperor, and finding no-
'thing was to be done by Treaty, he re-as-
'sembled the Parliament on the 20th of *No-*
'*vember* (before the Time it was adjourned
'to) and declared his Intention of defending
'the *Palatinate* by his Arms, since it was
'not to be compassed in an amicable way,
'and expected the Fruit of their Resolution,
'which had encouraged him to prepare for
'War: And tho' he was still satisfied of the
'good Inclination of a Majority of the Com-
'mons, by their voting him the speedy Pay-
'ment of a Subsidy, yet some particular
'Members had taken an inordinate Liberty
'to treat of his Prerogatives and other
'Things, that were not fit Subjects to be
'treated of in Parliament without his special
'Direction; and to speak of foreign Princes
'in Alliance with him, with less Respect
'than they ought to have done of a King
'that was an Enemy. And when he repre-
'hended them for these Miscarriages, they
'were persuaded by some disaffected Persons,
'not to enter upon any Business of Conse-
'quence, and spent their Time in Disputes
'about their Privileges, or in discanting up-
'on the Words and Syllables in his Letters
'and Messages; in which he assured them he
'never intended to refuse them any lawful
'Privileges, and was rather inclined to en-
'crease, than infringe them; and tho' he
'condescended to lengthen the Sessions, and
'grant the Pardon they had petition'd for,

'they

*A.D.*1622 — 19 & 20 *James* I.

'they at last rejected both, and enter'd into 'a Protestation (at an unseasonable time of 'Night) which invaded the Prerogatives of 'the Crown, which his Predecessors, and particularly the late Queen, was possessed of, 'as he found at his Accession; an Usurpation 'that the Majesty of a King could not endure: And having declared his Intention, 'that the Parliament should have met at the 'Time it was adjourn'd to, he adds, that 'tho' at this Time he was compell'd to put 'an end to this Parliament, yet it was his 'Intention to govern his People in the same 'manner his best Predecessors had done; and 'that he should lay hold of the first Occasion, 'which he hoped would not be long, of calling a Parliament again, in Confidence of 'the hearty Love and Affection of his Subjects.'

Some Members sent to the *Tower*.

Soon after the rising of the Parliament, some of the Members who had appeared forwardest in censuring his Majesty's Administration, were sent to the *Tower*, or other Places, where they underwent a short Confinement, particularly Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Mallory*; which their Party endeavour'd to revenge by the scurrilous Invectives and Calumnies they publish'd against the King and Court, suggesting that the King was entirely govern'd by *Gondomar* the *Spanish* Ambassador, and intended to re-establish Popery in *England*; nay, that he was in reality a Papist in his Heart in every thing but the Business of the Supremacy. And these ridiculous and improbable Calumnies, have the Fanatick Writers (who are followed by *Rapin*) recorded as undoubted Truths, and honour'd with

Scandalous Invectives against his Majesty.

with the ſacred Name of Hiſtory. *Rapin* and his Brethren affirm, that another Reaſon of King *James*'s being oppos'd by the Commons, was his aſſuming a deſpotick Power, and declaring in his Anſwer to the Petition of the Commons the laſt Seſſions, That he had Power to revoke their Privileges. But I have not been able to diſcover one Inſtance wherein King *James* aſſum'd a greater Power, or endeavoured to advance his Prerogative higher than his Predeceſſors, and particularly Queen *Elizabeth*, who has ſo generally the Character of a good Queen. Queen *Elizabeth* granted more Monopolies, took up Money by Loans, Benevolences, and Privy-Seals out of Parliament, and impriſon'd more Members for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of her Adminiſtration, and diſobeying her Orders, than ever King *James* did; nay, ſhe ſent frequent Orders to the Commons not to debate, or bring in any Bill relating to Religion, her Marriage, or the Succeſſion; and puniſh'd them if they preſum'd to mention theſe Things in the Houſe, as appears from Sir *Simon Dew*'s Journals of Parliament. And as to King *Henry* VIII. her Father, he ſo bullied and terrified both Houſes of Parliament, that he obliged them to make what Laws he pleaſed, and even enact Contradictions; nay, he made them paſs an Act at laſt, That his Proclamations ſhould be of the ſame Force as an Act of Parliament; whereby the Conſtitution was entirely ſubverted. And wou'd any Man, who had not the Forehead of a *Rapin*, after this affirm, That King *James* aſſum'd a more unlimited Power, and carried the Prerogative higher than any of his Predeceſſors. In what one Inſtance did he do it? As to that Expreſſion,

A.D. 1622
20 *Jac.* I

Queen *Elizabeth* carried the Prerogative higher than King *James*.

And *Henry* the 8th much higher.

A.D. 1622 — 20 *Jac.* I.

preſſion, in his Anſwer to the Petition of the Commons, That if they diſputed his Prerogatives, he might with as much and more Reaſon, revoke their Privileges, which were but the Conceſſions of his Anceſtors. He declared, in the ſame Inſtrument, that he never intended any thing of this Nature, if they would permit him to enjoy his juſt Prerogatives. Beſides, what Attempt did he make on their Privileges, except the impriſoning ſome of their Members for ſeditious Diſcourſes; which Queen *Elizabeth* had done on much leſs Occaſions, and yet the Commons had not the Hardineſs, in her Reign, to charge her with a Breach of their Privileges for it. And would any Prince at leaſt ever attempt to render himſelf arbitrary, without raiſing any Forces to ſupport his Pretenſions? We ſhould have very little Apprehenſions of a King whoſe Conduct was ſo weak: Nor do I find that he uſed thoſe Arts to get a Parliament choſen, or to corrupt the Members when choſen, as ſome of his Succeſſors have done; a more effectual way of ruining our Conſtitution than by plain Force; becauſe where the King and Parliament are united to enſlave the People, there is ſcarce any Redreſs to be expected: Whereas a Monarch, how big ſoever he may talk, if he neither keeps a ſtanding Army, or corrupts our Repreſentatives, is very little to be dreaded. If there ſhould be ſome Exceſſes attempted, he wou'd ſoon be reduced within Bounds, by the Repreſentations of the three Eſtates. And we ſee in fact, that King *James* I. redreſs'd almoſt every Grievance, and pretended Grievance that was complained of. From the whole, therefore, it appears, that *Rapin* and his

his Brethren are guilty of asserting a Falsity, whenever they affirm, that King *James* assumed greater Power, or carried his Prerogative higher than any of his Predecessors. *A.D.*1622 20 *Jac.* I.

Rapin guilty of a Falsity, when he asserts the contrary.

Rapin pretends also, that *Henry* the VIIIth, Queen *Elizabeth*, and the wisest of their Predecessors, never had such Contests with their Parliaments, as King *James* and his Successors had: But what was the Reason of it? If we review the Reigns of *Henry* the VIIIth and Queen *Elizabeth*, it will appear that they required greater Submissions from their Parliaments, than ever King *James* or his Posterity did. But the Commons then, either out of Fear durst not, or out of Duty wou'd not, oppose their Pleasure; and that was the true Reason there were no Disputes between them and the Crown. But King *James* unfortunately slacken'd the Reins of Government on his Accession, suffer'd the People to dispute against the Constitution in Church and State, (which Queen *Elizabeth* would never bear) and thereby encourag'd the Puritans and Republicans to encroach upon him; and to tell him at length, as they did in their Remonstrance, that there was no part of his Administration but they had a right to enquire into, and direct him in, even as to Peace and War, and the matching of his Children; Particulars that they durst not have touch'd upon in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth or Queen *Elizabeth*, especially after they had been prohibited to debate about them; nor would these Malecontents ever have got a Majority of the House to concur with them in these Contests, but upon the Suggestion that the King intended to introduce Popery and arbitrary Power, which no body now suspects he ever

*A.D.*1622 intended, except it be the Succeſſors of thoſe ſame Puritans and Republicans, who, as their Forefathers overturn'd the Conſtitution by ſuch falſe Suggeſtions, now endeavour to defend their Rebellion by the like idle Inſinuations. But the preſent Generation, who are convinc'd of the Hypocriſy and rebellious Tenets of that Race of Saints, who under theſe Pretences deſtroy'd the whole Frame of the Government, and tyranniz'd over their Fellow-Subjects when they had got the Power into their Hands, without allowing them the Benefit either of their Laws or Religion (which they made ſuch a Clamour about till they had obtain'd their Ends) will not eaſily be taken in their Snares again, it is preſum'd, how artfully ſoever cunning and deſigning Men may endeavour to cover the Deceit.

20 *Jac.* I.

The Saints by their pretended Fears of Popery, ſubverted the Government.

The King proceeds in the *Spaniſh* Match.

But to return to our Hiſtory: The King ſoon after the riſing of the Parliament, ſent the Lord *Digby* to *Spain*, to endeavour to put an End to the Treaty of Marriage between the Prince and the Infanta; and to encline the *Spaniard* to it, 'tis ſaid, order'd all Popiſh Recuſants, who were impriſon'd for their Religion only, to be releaſed. About which time Archbiſhop *Abbot* had the Misfortune to kill a Man as he was ſhooting at a Deer in his Park; on which Accident his Grace ſhut himſelf up in an Almſhouſe of his own erecting at *Guildford* in *Surrey*, as looking upon himſelf unworthy longer to officiate as Archbiſhop: But the King ordering a Commiſſion for examining the Matter, and it appearing to be pure Accident, his Majeſty prevail'd on him to return to his Palace, and exerciſe his former Authority; which does not agree well with ſome Inſinuations in our Hiſtorians,

Archbiſhop *Abbot* kills a Man.

as

as if the King was prejudic'd againſt him on account of his oppoſing the *Spaniſh* Match: But however that was, the celebrated Dr. *William Laud*, who makes ſuch a Figure in the enſuing Hiſtory, was this Year preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of St. *David's*. In the mean time, the King underſtanding that the *Spaniards* mov'd but ſlowly in the Match between his Son and the Infanta, wrote to the Lord *Digby*, whom he created Earl of *Briſtol*, that in caſe the King of *Spain* (*Philip* IV.) would not agree to his Siſter's Marriage on the Terms that had been agreed on in his Father's Life-time (who died the laſt Year) his Majeſty would look out for a Match for his Son elſewhere; but the Earl of *Briſtol* aſſuring the King that the *Spaniards* were ſincere, tho' ſlow in their Proceedings, the Treaty was ſtill kept on foot.

AD. 1622
20 *Jac.* I.
Dr. *Laud* made a Biſhop.

While Things remain'd in this State, the Prince, by the Advice of *Buckingham*, 'tis ſaid, propoſed to the King his going in Perſon to *Spain*, that he might either conclude or break off the Match, and be kept no longer in ſuſpence; and *Buckingham* ſeconding the Motion, the King was prevailed on to conſent to it. And tho' his Majeſty afterwards, upon weighing the Hazard of putting his only Son into the Power of the King of *Spain*, afterwards alter'd his Mind, yet the Prince and the Favourite inſiſting on his Promiſe, he was in a manner compell'd to ſuffer them to put their Project in Execution; whereupon they ſet out *incognito* with two Attendants only, on the Seventeenth Day of *February*; and taking *Paris* in their way, where the Prince had a View of the Princeſs

The Prince and Duke viſit *Madrid*.

*A.D.*1623 *Henrietta*, afterwards his Queen, they arrived at *Madrid* on the 7th of *March*.

21 *Jac.* I.

The Prince was receiv'd at the Court of *Spain* with the higheſt Marks of Eſteem and Affection; the *Spaniards* ſeem'd now in earneſt for the Match, tho' they ſtill endeavoured to delay it, with a View, 'tis ſaid, of keeping the Prince among them, till by their Artifices ſhe ſhould be induc'd to alter his Religion; but the Prince and Duke having waited near eight Months, and ſtill put off under pretence of the want of the Pope's Diſpenſation, or on ſome other frivolous Account: And finding as they themſelves related, that the King of *Spain*, notwithſtanding he had given a verbal Promiſe, would not ſtipulate in Writing for the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, they determined to return to *England*. However, the Match was far from being broke off while the Prince remain'd in *Spain*; on the contrary, it appears that after the King his Father had ſent a Squadron of Men of War to convoy him to *England*, the King of *Spain* and the Prince reciprocally ſwore to fulfill the Marriage-Contract, and that the Eſpouſals ſhould be ſolemniz'd within ten Days after the Arrival of Pope *Urban*'s Diſpenſation: For altho' a Diſpenſation had been obtain'd from *Gregory* XV. the former Pope, yet that Pontiff dying before the Conſummation, his Diſpenſation was held void: A Procuration therefore was executed by the Prince to the King of *Spain* and his Brother, at his Departure, and left in the Hands of the Earl of *Briſtol*, but with Directions not to deliver it till further Orders; which makes it not improbable, that the Prince and Duke then foreſaw there might ariſe ſome Difficulties

ties that would prevent the Marriage taking effect. But however that was, they return'd to *England* in the Month of *October*, having been abſent upwards of ſix Months. The Arrival of the Prince in *England*, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, brought infinite Joy and Delight to his Majeſty, and occaſion'd the loudeſt and moſt univerſal Rejoicings that the Nation had ever been acquainted with; and the Duke was, in a manner, look'd upon as the Saviour of the Nation, in contriving the Prince's Eſcape out of *Spain*. The Infanta, however, from the time of the executing the Procuration, was ſtil'd in *Spain* the Princeſs of *England*, and great Preparations made for ſolemnizing the Nuptials there.

A.D. 1623
21 *Jac.* I.

They return abruptly.

But whatever might be the Expectations of the *Spaniards*, the Prince and Duke having given an account of the Uſage they met with in *Spain* to the King and Council, it was reſolv'd (tho' againſt the King's Will, as the noble Hiſtorian ſuggeſts) that the Marriage ſhould not proceed, unleſs the *Palatinate* were firſt reſtor'd to the Elector: And the King was prevailed on to ſend his Orders thereupon to the Earl of *Briſtol*, to ſuſpend the Delivery of the Proxy till *Chriſtmas*, and to demand the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* directly. In the mean time, the Pope's Diſpenſation arriving at *Madrid* the beginning of *December*, the ninth of that Month was fixed upon for the Wedding-Day, Preſents were provided by the Court of *Spain* for King *James* and the Prince. The Infanta's Family deſign'd for *England* was eſtabliſh'd, and it was reſolv'd ſhe ſhou'd embark for that Kingdom the beginning of *March*; and tho' her Portion was not mention'd in the Articles, it was

Reſolv'd to break the Match.

The *Spaniards* prepare for Wedding.

*A.D.*1623 — 21 *Jac.* I.

was now fixed at Four Millions of Crowns. And now when every thing was look'd upon as concluded by the Court of *Spain*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, to his great Mortification (having been long labouring to bring the Treaty to a Concluſion) receiv'd Orders to demand the *Palatinate* as a Condition of the Marriage: Which the King of *Spain* was no ſooner acquainted with, but he anſwer'd, *The Palatinate was none of his to give, but if the Emperor and the Duke of* Bavaria *refuſed to hearken to Reaſon, he would endeavour to recover it for the Palatine by Force.* But as it was preſum'd that the King of *Spain* could have prevailed on the Emperor to have reſtored the Elector Palatine his Dominions upon the leaſt Intimation, if he had deſir'd it, this Anſwer was look'd upon as evaſive, and held by the Court of *England* as a Reaſon ſufficient for putting an End to the Treaty. The Earl of *Clarendon*, indeed, affirms, that the Duke of *Buckingham* firſt broke it off, upon ſome private Views; but as he does not enter into the Particulars, and ſeems to be in doubt himſelf what might be the real Occaſion of this Conduct, our Conjectures at this Diſtance of Time, are of very little Weight, and therefore I ſhall leave the Reader to his own Judgment. Certain it is, the King of *Spain* was ſo incenſed at the Demand of the *Palatinate* as a Condition of the Marriage, that he let the Earl of *Briſtol* know, he would no more admit him to an Audience on that Subject, and order'd that the Infanta ſhould be no longer ſtil'd the Princeſs of *England*.

The Treaty broke off on the King of *Spain*'s refuſing to deliver up the *Palatinate*.

Remarks on the Letter ſaid to be written by the Prince to the Pope,

Ruſhworth and *Rapin*, and the reſt of the Fanatick Tribe, ſeem exceedingly offended with a Letter the Prince wrote to Pope *Gregory*,

gory while the Dispensation for the Marriage was soliciting at the Court of *Rome*, and would insinuate from thence, and from some secret Articles (that never had any Being) that the Prince was enclin'd to Popery: But as to the Letter, it appears to be no more than matter of Compliment; and it is much to be doubted whether there ever was such a Letter; for *Rushworth* neither relates from whence he had the Letter and secret Articles he mentions, or brings any manner of Proof of their being genuine, or sign'd either by the King or Prince. No doubt there were a great many rough Draughts made, and Articles offer'd on both Sides during so long a Negotiation, that never were assented to or executed; Copies of which may have been found among the Papers of State which fell into the Hands of the Rebels, and consequently of *Rushworth* their Clerk Assistant, who was employed to collect what Instruments he could to King *Charles*'s Prejudice: And as their principal Stratagem was to make the King thought a Papist, no wonder they laid hold of every Scrap of Paper that tended that way, and gave it the Title of Articles, *&c.* insinuating that they had been duly executed. But what is still of more weight in this Case, is, that *Rushworth* himself, in the very same Page with the Letter to the Pope, says, That notwithstanding all the Artifices used by the *Spaniards* to induce the Prince to change his Religion, *he remained stedfast in it, and did not express any Shew of Change.* And indeed since nine Parts in ten of the Kingdom at this Day, are satisfied that both King *James* the First, and King *Charles* the First, were sincere Protestants, most of those bulky Collections

A.D. 1623
21 *Jac.* I.
and on the pretended secret Articles in *Rushworth.*

*A.D.*1623 21 *Jac.* I.

Collections in *Ruſhworth* and other Republican Writers, produced to prove that thoſe Princes were Popiſhly affected, and had form'd Deſigns to introduce Popery, and would thereby juſtify the Grand Rebellion, are now little better than Rubbiſh; the Facts they are produced to advance, are known to be falſe; and, conſequently, all that the Saints have built on that Foundation muſt fall to the Ground.

If King *Charles* and King *James* were not Papiſts, nor had formed Deſigns to introduce Popery (the grand Calumny whereby the laſt Generation was ſpirited up into Rebellion) that Rebellion can never be excuſed; and the Puritans, who were the Authors of thoſe political Lies, and incited the People to take Arms, muſt be contented to bear the Reproach they have contracted, and ſtill be eſteemed Traytors and Rebels. It will be needleſs, therefore, to follow them through all their Volumes of Scandal, eſpecially when *Nalſon* and others have given us Inſtances of their abridging and miſreciting ſeveral Inſtruments, and omitting others; and it is highly probable they deſtroyed a great many more that made againſt them: I return therefore to the Hiſtory, without giving myſelf and Readers the Trouble of following *Rapin* through that dry Wilderneſs of Memorials, Remonſtrances, and Repreſentations, which he has tranſcribed from *Ruſhworth*, *Wilſon*, *Coke*, and other Fanatick Writers, to fix a Charge of Popery upon two Princes that the World are very ſenſible never deſerved it.

King *James* foreſeeing the Breach with *Spain* was unavoidable, and that there was now no Hopes of recovering the *Palatinate* but by Force

Force of Arms; and obſerving the general Diſpoſition of the Nation for a War with *Spain*, which would, he apprehended, induce them to grant a Supply to ſupport it, ſummoned a Parliament to meet on the 12th of *February* 1624; which, on account of the Duke of *Richmond*'s Death, was deferr'd to the 19th of the ſame Month, when the King open'd it with a Speech to both Houſes; wherein he tells them, He had conven'd the Parliament in order to adviſe with them concerning his Son's Match, and the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; and informs them that he had depended too much upon the Promiſes of the *Spaniards*; that he was contented his Son ſhould go in Perſon to *Spain*, attended by *Buckingham*, imagining the Treaty had been reduc'd to a very narrow Compaſs; but when they came to treat of Particulars, they found the Matter ſo raw, as if the Marriage had never been negotiated till then; and for the Particulars, referr'd them to the Prince and the Duke. He obſerv'd, That his Remiſſneſs in the Maintenance of Religion, and a Suſpicion of a *Toleration*, had been much talk'd of; but, as God ſhould judge him, he never thought or meant, or ever in word expreſſed any thing that favour'd it: He had indeed ſometimes conniv'd at the Execution of the Laws which might have hinder'd more weighty Affairs, but never in all his Treaties conſented to any thing diſagreeing with thoſe Laws; nor did he ever intend to infringe the Liberties of the People, but that they ſhould enjoy them to the full; nay, he would rather enlarge and amplify them.

A.D. 1623
21 *Jac.* I.

A Parliament meets.

Some Paſſages in the King's Speech.

From the Recital of theſe Paſſages in this Speech, I may appeal to the Senſe of all

*A.D.*1624 Mankind, whether it is poſſible to believe that the King had ever ſign'd an Article for allowing a *Toleration of Popery*; for if he had, he muſt know that this Article was in the Hands of his Enemies the *Spaniards*, againſt whom he was upon the point of declaring War, and who would certainly have produced it ſigned by him, and expoſed his Hypocriſy, if there had been ſuch an Article. This alſo ſhews, that the Letter publiſh'd by *Wilſon*, *Rapin*, and the reſt of that Crew, from Dr. *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to King *James*, charging him with allowing the Papiſts a Toleration, muſt be a Forgery; and, indeed, any one that conſiders the Character of *Abbot*, and the Tenor of that Letter, muſt, upon the bare Peruſal of it, be convinc'd it was not genuine. It is obſervable alſo, that this pretended Letter has no Date to it, tho' by the Place we find it in, they would inſinuate it was written the Year before the King made this Speech: They make the Archbiſhop tell the King poſitively, in this Letter, *That he had propounded a Toleration of Religion*; as if the thing were publickly and univerſally known, and he had undoubted Proof of it. If there was ſuch Evidence of it, is it to be ſuppoſed the King would have ſo ſolemnly denied it before the whole Parliament. And if there was not Proof of it, the Archbiſhop muſt be a Fool and a Madman to charge the King with having actually *conſented to a Toleration*. The Puritans, indeed, pretended that the Matter was debated in Council, and that there the King conſented to the Toleration; but this muſt render the thing ſtill more incredible; for had his Majeſty known the Members of the Council could have contradicted

21 *Jac.* I.

Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Letter a Forgery.

tradicted him, he must have been a mere Idiot to have denied what he was so conscious so many of his Audience knew to be true. A.D.1624 21 Jac. I.

I have been the longer in examining this piece of Scandal, to shew upon what improbable Grounds the Puritans sometimes charg'd King *James* with favouring Popery; and if I wou'd take the Drudgery upon me of enquiring into every other Calumny their slanderous Tongues have utter'd, I don't doubt they would be as easily confuted even from their own Libels, those I have taken notice of sufficiently manifesting the Malice and Inconsistency of their Authors. But to proceed.

Three or four Days after the meeting of the Parliament, the Prince, at a Conference of the Two Houses, mention'd his late Voyage to *Spain*, the Duke's Care of him while he was there, and the Address he used in getting him away; and desired the Duke to relate the whole Adventure. Whereupon his Grace said, That the Prince's Journey into *Spain*, which had produced such terrible Apprehensions in the Hearts of all good *Englishmen*, had been only to make a clear Discovery of the Sincerity of the *Spaniard*.

The Duke of *Bucks* Account of the Prince's Voyage to *Spain*.

That they no sooner came to *Madrid*, than they discovered that there had never been any real Design to marry the Infanta to the Prince; that they delay'd the Matter under pretence of waiting for a Dispensation; and instead of proceeding upon Articles (pretended to have been concluded) they urg'd new Demands, and endeavoured to persuade the Prince to change his Religion. In order to which rhey procured the Pope to write a Letter to his Highness, putting him in mind of the Reli-

*A.D.*1624 gion of his Anceſtors, and conjuring him to return to the ſame Faith: but that it had pleaſed God not only to give the Prince a conſtant and unſhaken Heart in his Religion, but ſuch wonderful Abilities to defend the ſame in his Diſcourſe and Arguments, that they ſtood amaz'd to hear him.

21 *Jac.* I.

That they would not ſuffer the Prince to talk with the Infanta, and very rarely to ſee her, and could never obtain any better Anſwer as to the *Palatinate*, Than that the reſtoring of it was not in the King's Power, tho' it had been taken by the *Spaniſh* Army commanded by *Spinola*, who was then in poſſeſſion of it; and that there was now no Hopes of recovering it but by Force. And throughout the whole Diſcourſe, the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, the Duke frequently reflected on the Earl of *Briſtol*, as if he knew the Purpoſe of the *Spaniards*, and concurred with them in it; and that the Earl even perſuaded the Prince in private to become a Papiſt, as the only Means to obtain the Infanta; adding, that the King had ſent for the Earl home to give an Account of theſe Miſcarriages: But this part of the Duke's Speech relating to the Earl of *Briſtol*, the Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us was falſe; for that the King had recalled him rather to aſſiſt him againſt the Duke, than to expoſe him to his Malice and Fury, his Majeſty having a great Eſteem of that Earl's Fidelity. But however that was, the Conference ended in a wonderful Applauſe of the Prince and Duke's Conduct, and a haſty Reſolution to diſſuade the King from entertaining any further Motions towards the Match, and reſolutely to enter into a War with *Spain*, towards carrying on of which they made

Reſolv'd to addreſs the King to begin the War.

Mountains

Mountains of Promiſes; and prevailing in the firſt, never remember'd to make good the latter, which that noble Hiſtorian obſerves too often happens in ſuch Councils. Thus, ſays the ſame Writer, a War againſt *Spain* was haſtily enter'd upon, and a new Treaty ſet on foot between the Prince of *Wales* and a Daughter of *France*. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was ſo enraged at this Conduct of the Duke's, that he ſuggeſted to the King that the Duke had a Deſign againſt his Majeſty's Life; and pretended to inform him of ſome Particulars of the Plot; at which, it is ſaid, the King was a little alarm'd at firſt, but the Villany being diſcover'd, he was reſtored to full Favour, inſomuch, that on the Arrival of the Earl of *Briſtol*, the King, at the Inſtance of the Duke, cauſed the Earl to be charged with High-Treaſon, and committed to the *Tower*, tho' he was releaſed not long after on making his Submiſſion. Another Enemy of the Duke's, namely, the Lord Treaſurer, Earl of *Middleſex*, met with ſtill harder Uſage; he had indeed been rais'd to that high Poſt by *Buckingham*, but refuſing to make ſome Remittances to the Prince and Duke when they were in *Spain*, and endeavouring to gain the King's Ear to the Prejudice of his Patron *Buckingham*, cauſed him to be impeach'd in Parliament for ſome Miſcarriages in his Office; and tho' he made a good Defence, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, and the King commanded the Prince and Duke to endeavour to bring him off, and not to encourage ſuch Impeachments, which would probably one Day be fatal to the Crown, they would not deſiſt from this Proſecution, but procur'd the Treaſurer to be deeply

A.D. 1624
21 Jac. I.

A Treaty between the Prince and a Daughter of *France*.

Bucks charged with a Conſpiracy againſt the King.

Earl of *Briſtol* committed.

Earl of *Middleſex* diſgraced.

A.D. 1624 deeply fin'd, and impriſon'd, and excluded from his Seat in Parliament during Life.

21 *Jac.* I.

The King heſitates about the War.

In the mean time King *James*, who dreaded nothing more than War, and was apprehenſive, if he ſhould engage in one, the Parliament might not ſupport him with ſuch Aids as were neceſſary to carry it on, thought fit to make the Two Houſes a ſecond Speech, wherein he thank'd them for their Advice, but ſeem'd to be in Suſpenſe whether he ſhou'd break with ſuch formidable Powers as the Emperor and the King of *Spain:* However, he told them he would conſider of it, and if they did raiſe Supplies for carrying on ſuch a War, they might appropriate them to that Uſe, and put them into the Hands of their own Treaſurers, who ſhould be accountable for them. Whereupon the Commons voted the King three entire Subſidies, amounting to upwards of 300,000 *l.* to be raiſed within a Year after he ſhould declare War; and accepted the King's Offer of putting theſe Subſidies into the Hands of their own Agents. The King thereupon immediately declared War againſt *Spain* and the Emperor, and four Regiments, conſiſting of fifteen hundred Men each, and commanded by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Willoughby* (afterwards Earl of *Lindſey*) were ſent over to *Flanders* to join the *Dutch*, and act in Concert with them againſt the King of *Spain*, whoſe General *Spinola* had gain'd ſuch Advantages of the *Hollanders* at this time, that had it not been for this ſeaſonable Reinforcement of the *Engliſh*, he would have bidden fair for reducing thoſe proud States under the Dominion of *Spain* again.

The Commons vote him three Subſidies.

6000 Men ſent to *Flanders*.

In

In the mean time both Houſes of Parliament addreſs'd the King to put the Laws in Execution againſt the Jeſuits and other Popiſh Recuſants; and that in caſe any Treaty of Marriage ſhould be ſet on foot between the Prince and any foreign Princeſs for the future, nothing might be ſtipulated to the Prejudice of the Proteſtant Religion. The laſt part of which Addreſs is ſuppoſed to be occaſioned on the Diſcovery of the new Treaty between the Prince and the Princeſs *Henrietta*, afterwards Queen of *England*. The King did not only give a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer to both Parts of this Addreſs, but actually turned out all or moſt of the Popiſh Nobility and Gentry that were poſſeſs'd of any Poſts in the Government or about the Court, and paſſed ſeveral Acts of great Advantage to the Subject during this Seſſions, particularly,

A.D. 1624

21 *Jac.* I.

The Commons addreſs the King to put the Laws in Execution againſt Recuſants.

Papiſts turn'd out of their Poſts.

21 *Jac.* I. *Cap.* 2. That the Subject ſhou'd remain in the quiet Poſſeſſion of Lands formerly in the Hands of the Crown, and ſhou'd not be moleſted under the Notion of their being concealed Lands, unleſs it was proved the King had a Right to them within ſixty Years before the beginning of this Parliament.

Acts paſs'd, Concealed Lands.

21 *Jac.* I. *Cap.* 3. Enacts, That all Monopolies contrary to Law ſhall be void.

Monopolies revoked.

21 *Jac.* I. *Cap.* 4. Enacts, That all Informations on penal Statutes, ſhall be proſecuted in the County where the Offence is committed.

Informations.

21 *Jac.* I. *Cap.* 33. Is a Confirmation of four entire Subſidies granted by the Clergy.

Subſidies of the Clergy,

21 *Jac.* I. *Cap.* 34. In Conſideration of the King's breaking with *Spain*, the Parliament grant him three entire Subſidies, and three Fifteenths and Tenths, 18,000 *l.* whereof was

Of the Laity.

to

A.D. 1624 — 21 *Jac.* I.

to be employed in the Repair of certain decayed Towns, and the Reſidue appropriated to the War that was expected, and directed to be lodg'd in the Hands of eight Citizens of *London*, and ten of the King's Council, who were appointed Treaſurers for the People; and theſe were to take an Oath that none of that Money ſhould be iſſued out but on a Warrant from the Council of War, and that all of them ſhould be accountable for that Money to the Commons in Parliament.

A Pardon.

21 *Jac.* I. *Cap.* 35. Is a Confirmation of the King's general Pardon. The Parliament having paſs'd ſeveral other Acts, which will be found at the End of this Reign, was prorogued on the 29th of *May* to the ſecond of *November* 1624.

The *Dutch* expel the *Engliſh* from the Spice Iſlands.

Notwithſtanding the Aſſiſtance the *Engliſh* gave the *Dutch* at this Time againſt the conquering *Spaniard*, it appeared that the *Hollanders*, at this very Inſtant, were robbing us of the Spice Trade, and expelling us from thoſe Iſlands, which had been ſurrender'd to us by the Natives; and that they not only murder'd, but tortur'd our Merchants and Factors in the moſt inhuman manner at *Amboyna*, to deter the *Engliſh* from coming into thoſe Seas; an Account whereof will be found in the Second Volume of *Modern Hiſtory*, *p.* 56, *&c ſeq.*

Their Barbarity at *Amboyna*.

A full Relation of theſe Outrages being brought to *England* about this time, they were highly reſented by the King and Court; but as we were at this Time engaged with the *Hollander* againſt the *Spaniard*, and there was a Neceſſity of continuing that Confederacy if we intended to recover the *Palatinate*, it was not thought expedient to break with them,

them, and indeed it was in a manner impracticable to do it, as the Nation were now zealously bent upon the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. Besides, the *Dutch* represented the Matter in another Light, or at least so blinded the *English* Ministry (their usual Policy) by their Bribes, that the Consequence of their Treachery was not duly attended to. Reprizals indeed were ordered to be made on the *Dutch East-India* Ships coming home, and one of them was taken; but this seems to be all the Satisfaction we have received for the Loss of the Spice Islands from that Day to this. A.D. 1624 / 22 Jac. I. One of their *East-India* Ships taken.

In the mean time the Treaty of Marriage with the *French* Princess went forwards, and much the same Articles were agreed on as in the *Spanish* Match; but as for the secret Article concerning a Toleration of Popery, I don't see the least colour for it, any more than for the idle Tale of King *James*'s professing himself a Papist, said to be related by two *French* Papists, *viz.* the Archbishop of *Embrun*, and Monsieur *D'Ageant* the *French* Agent; and it is very probable no such Relations were ever made by them, for they are far from being prov'd, and seem to be confuted even by the Puritans themselves, who are so fond of this piece of Slander; for they make the Duke of *Bucks* so much out of the King's Favour, that his Majesty, they tell us, had form'd a Design to ruin him; and yet here he is said to be one of the two Persons trusted with this important Secret by the King. The Treaty with *France* goes forward. The King aspersed again.

In the Treaty it self, it is very certain there is nothing stipulated in favour of Papists, only that the intended Queen and her Family

*A.D.*1624 22 *Jac.* I.

No Article in favour of Popery in the Treaty with *France.*

ſhould have a Chapel, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion, not one Word in favour of any other Catholicks. Had there been ſuch a ſecret Article, as was pretended, in their Favour, it would certainly have been produced either by Friends or Foes, in the Space of an hundred Years. What is ſeen in *Ruſhworth*, *Rapin*, &c. is only a Draught found, God knows where, and drawn by God knows who, without any manner of Proof of its having been conſented to or executed. It muſt be admitted alſo, that the Legend of *D'Ageant* and the Archbiſhop of *Embrun* are evidently falſe, if we have any regard to the conſtant Tenor of King *James*'s Life or his dying Words, wherein he adviſes the Prince to love his intended Wife the Princeſs *Henrietta*, *but not her Religion.* We may conſider further, that both the Papiſts and Puritans had their particular Views and Intereſts in propagating this Calumny, and that a great many others of the like Nature have been prov'd to be falſe to a Demonſtration in this Reign, which muſt induce every Man to require ſome farther Authority for this malicious and improbable Suggeſtion, before he can aſſent to it. But to return.

*A.D.*1625 12,000 Men embark'd for the *Palatinate.*

King *James* having raiſed an Army of twelve thouſand Men the following Year, gave the Command of them to Count *Manſfield*, who embark'd with them for *Calais*, it having been ſtipulated in the late Treaty with the *French* King, that they ſhou'd be permitted to march through *France* to the *Palatinate*, and that the *French* ſhould join them with a Body of their own Troops; but when the Fleet came before *Calais*, the *Engliſh* were not ſuffer'd to land (for what Reaſon I could never

never learn, unleſs the *French* had Apprehenſions of their ſeizing that Town.) Whereupon Count *Mansfield* ſet ſail for *Zeland*, not doubting but the States, who were in a Confederacy with *England*, wou'd ſuffer the King's Army to march thro' their Territories; but whether the *Dutch* were afraid that the *Engliſh* might demand Satisfaction for the Wrongs done them in the *Eaſt-Indies*, or for what other Reaſon is uncertain, they refuſed to ſuffer the *Engliſh* to come on Shoar, till two-thirds of them periſhed by the Hardſhips they endured on board, and the reſt returned to *England* without effecting any thing, tho' King *James* did not live to ſee the ill Succeſs of this Expedition, for he was taken ill of an Ague this Spring, which, according to *Clarendon*, meeting many Humours in a fat unweildy Body of 58 Years old, in four or five Fits carried him out of the World. When he firſt fell ſick, he retired to *Theobalds*, where, being attended by Biſhop *Williams* then Lord Keeper, he deſired that Prelate to aſſiſt him in his laſt Moments, and accordingly he pray'd with his Majeſty, read, and diſcourſed with him of Repentance, Faith, Remiſſion of Sins, the Reſurrection and Eternal Life; after which the King received the Sacrament of the Biſhop with great Devotion, being the *Thurſday* before his Death. Not a ſingle Roman Catholick came near him in his Sickneſs, which alone is ſufficient to confute the fooliſh Stories of the King's having declared himſelf a Papiſt to the Biſhop of *Embrun*. Biſhop *Williams* being a Perſon that even the Puritans give great Credit to in other Matters, and was never even by them deem'd to be Popiſhly affected; it was this

A.D. 1625
23 *Jac.* I.

Moſt of the *Engliſh* Army periſh in their Ships, being refus'd Entrance into *France* or *Holland*.

K. *James* taken ill.

Attended by Biſhop *Williams*.

*A D.*1625 Prelate that related the King in his laſt Mo-
23 *Jac.* I. ments, adviſed the Prince *to love his intended Wife, but not her Religion.*

His Death. The King dy'd on *Sunday* the 27th of *March* 1625, having reigned King of *England* two and twenty Years and three Days, and of *Scotland* fifty-ſeven Years, if we reckon from the time he was proclaim'd there. Upon the King's Death, ſays the Lord *Clarendon*, many ſcandalous and libellous Diſcourſes were raiſed (as if he had been poiſoned) without the leaſt Colour or Ground, as appear'd upon the ſtricteſt and moſt malicious Examination that cou'd be made in a time of Licenſe, when no Body was afraid of offending Majeſty, and when proſecuting the higheſt Reproaches and Calumnies againſt the Royal Family was very meritorious. The Royal Corps was conveyed from *Theobalds* to *Somerſet-Houſe*, where it lay in State from the 23d of *April* to the 7th of *May*, when, according to Sir *Richard Baker*, who was an Eye-witneſs, it was interr'd in *Weſtminſter-Abbey* with great Solemnity, but *with greater Lamentation.*

His Perſon and Character. King *James* was of a middle Stature, pretty well proportioned, and had nothing very diſagreeable in his Countenance, tho' he had but a little Share of that Beauty and graceful Preſence his Father and Mother, the Lord *Darnley* and *Mary* Queen of *Scots* were ſo remarkable for: He grew corpulent as he advanc'd in Years; his Dreſs was plain, and his Cloaths made fuller than ordinary, without any regard to the Faſhion. His principal Exerciſe and Diverſion was Hunting, which tho' he uſed frequently, it was a Rule with him never to hold his Horſe with a ſtrait Rein, imagining

imagining that a Horſe who had his Head never ſtumbled. This Prince alſo ſeems to have been extremely delighted with Dancing, Balls and Feſtivals. As to his Morals, however, it is generally agreed he was chaſte and temperate, and ſo devout, that he ſeldom miſs'd Chapel. His Religion was *Calviniſm*, (except as to Epiſcopacy and Church Government) as appears by his cauſing the Books of *Vorſtius* to be burnt, who followed *Arminius* in the Doctrines of conditional Election and Reprobation, and the Univerſality of Redemption. And not content with this, he prevailed with the *Dutch* to convene a Synod at *Dort*, to which he ſent ſeveral *Engliſh* Divines, and cauſed theſe Doctrines to be Synodically cenſured, tho' at the ſame time it is true he endeavoured to bring all the three Kingdoms to a Uniformity of Worſhip, and preferred the *Government* of the Church of *England* to that of any other Church. He is deſervedly applauded for cauſing a new Tranſlation of the Bible to be publiſhed, being the ſame we uſe at this Day. His peaceable Diſpoſition alſo is reckoned by ſome amongſt his Virtues, while others obſerve his Averſion to War encouraged other Nations to inſult the *Engliſh*, and encroach on their Commerce and Fiſheries. And tho' this may be true in ſome meaſure, poſſibly the Kingdom gained more by that ſettled Peace than it loſt. The Royal Navy was certainly encreaſed in this Reign, both in the Number and Magnitude of our Men of War, as appears from comparing the Liſts of the Navy in this Reign with thoſe of the former; for as he was at little or no Expence in fitting out Ships for any hoſtile Attempts, having no Enemies to contend with, he

His Religion *Calviniſm*, except as to Church Government.

He cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated.

His peaceable Diſpoſition.

The Royal Navy encreas'd by him.

he laid out the more in building Men of War, and encreasing his Navy, which he left in a very good Condition. Our foreign Trade also was vastly extended and enlarged in most Parts of the World, especially in *America*; those glorious Plantations of *Virginia* and *New England* being established in this Reign, tho' discover'd in the former; Colonies of *English* also were sent to *Ulster* in the North of *Ireland* by the City of *London* in this Reign, by virtue of a Grant from King *James*, which did more towards promoting the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, than all the Conquests we had made there.

Foreign Commerce advanc'd.

Plantations in *America* and *Ireland* settled.

He is charged with Partiality to the *Scots*, and lavishing away great Sums on them at his Accession; but it ought to be remember'd to his Honour, that great part of the Money he is charged with squandering away, went in paying his Predecessor's Queen *Elizabeth*'s Debts; to the City of *London* alone it appears he paid a Debt of Sixty thousand Pounds at one time, and great Sums to several others; which those who would misrepresent his Actions, take little or no notice of, any more than they do how very little Money he levy'd on the Subject during his Reign, being not half so much as the best of his Predecessors raised in the same Compass of Years, tho' we include the Benevolences he obtained out of Parliament, his Patents for Monopolies, Privy-Seals, and the like; in which way of raising Money, he was equall'd and even exceeded by several Princes that had gone before him. And it is further remarkable, that upon the Parliament's petitioning against these extraordinary Ways of raising Money, he revok'd his Grants and discontinued them.

He paid Queen *Elizabeth*'s Debts.

He spent less Money than any of his Predecessors,

and raised Money no otherwise than they had done.

Redress'd all Grievances.

I do

I do agree with some of our Historians, that the Foundation of the Grand Rebellion was laid in this Reign, not by the King's endeavouring to enlarge his Prerogative, as some insinuate, but by his suffering it to be disputed, and conniving too long at the Encroachments of the Puritans and Republicans, over whom Queen *Elizabeth* had kept a much stricter Hand. But Allowances are to be made for his being a Foreigner and a Stranger to the Constitution; such Princes always lie under great Disadvantages. Nor wou'd I pass over his too great Indulgence to his Favourites and Prime Ministers, which was certainly very prejudicial to the Kingdom and himself; but I can't help observing, that Princes who have been guilty of the same Failing, have met with much better Quarter from the Party who charge King *James* with this Weakness.

His relaxing the Reins of Government the Occasion of his Son's and his own Misfortunes.

Too indulgent to his Favourites.

Upon the whole, King *James* appears to have been a wise, virtuous, and religious Prince in the main, tho' subject to some Failings. He came, we must remember, from a poor barren Country, to a Kingdom where Wealth abounded more at that time than in any Nation in *Europe* perhaps, and he met with a People whose Professions of Loyalty and Submission, accompanied with Offers of their Lives and Fortunes, were as unlimited as his Expences and Gratuities to his Countrymen are said to have been; which, when the *Scots* observed, they plainly told the *English*, *They would spoil a good King*; and so, in reality, they did, by over-acting the Part of Subjects at first, and assuming the Authority of Princes afterwards. Had they observed a due Medium, King *James* might have made an

His Character summed up.

an excellent King, and they had been a much happier People.

His Title. *James* I. of *England*, and VIth of *Scotland*, was the Son of *Henry Stuart* Lord *Darnley*, by *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, who was the only Child of *James* V. King of *Scots*, the eldeſt Son of *James* IV. King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Wife, eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* VII. King of *England*, and of *Elizabeth* only Child of *Edward* IV. King of *England*. Upon Failure therefore of Iſſue of *Henry* VIII. the only Son of *Henry* VII. and the ſaid *Elizabeth*, King *James* I. Grandſon of the ſaid *Margaret*, gained an unqueſtionable Title to the Crown of *England* by Deſcent.

Objections to it. To which Title however the following Objections have been made, *viz.* That the Succeſſion of the Crown was limited by an Act of 35 *Hen.* 8. (upon Failure of Iſſue of the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* his Daughters, who ſucceeded him) to ſuch Perſons as *Henry* VIII. ſhould appoint by his Will; who by his Will appointed, that upon Failure of Iſſue of his ſaid Daughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, the Crown ſhould remain and come to the Heirs of the Body of the Lady *Frances*, eldeſt Daughter to his Siſter *Mary* the *French* Queen; and for Default of Iſſue of the Body of the ſaid *Frances*, to the Heirs of the Body of the Lady *Eleanor*, ſecond Daughter to the ſaid *French* Queen; Remainder to his own right Heirs.

This *Mary*, the *French* Queen, was the younger Siſter of *Henry* VIII. ſhe firſt married *Lewis* XII. the *French* King, who died in a little time, and left no Iſſue by her; whereupon King *Henry* married her to his Favourite *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, by

by whom ſhe had Iſſue the ſaid Lady *Frances* and Lady *Eleanor*; to the Iſſue of whoſe Bodies ſucceſſively, King *Henry* VIII. limited the Succeſſion of the Crown as above.

From the eldeſt of theſe Siſters, *viz.* the Lady *Frances*, deſcended the *Ailesbury* Family; and from the youngeſt, namely, the Lady *Eleanor*, deſcended the *Derby* Family; the Nation however preferr'd the *Scotiſh* Line before either of them, contrary to the ſaid Act of Settlement: And ſince neither of theſe Families have made any Claim to the Crown, our Allegiance is certainly due to the *Stuarts*, who have the Right of Blood on their Side, as well as an Act recognizing their Title, *viz.* 1 *Jac.* I. *Cap.* 1. wherein the two Houſes ſay, That being bounden thereunto both by the Laws of God and Men, they do recognize and acknowledge, that immediately upon the Diſſolution and Deceaſe of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Crown of *England* did, by inherent Birthright, and lawful and undoubted Succeſſion, deſcend and come to King *James*, as being lineally, juſtly, and lawfully, next and ſole Heir of the Blood Royal: And that by lawful *Right of Deſcent*, his Majeſty is of the Realms and Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, and thereby more able to protect and govern his Subjects than any of his Progenitors: And they do moſt humbly and faithfully *ſubmit and oblige themſelves, their Heirs, and Poſterities, to his Majeſty and his Royal Progeny and Poſterity for ever.*

Rapin's Errors as to this Prince's Title.

The Compilers of *Rapin*, Vol. IX. *p.* 227, pretend, that King *James* had a threefold Right, *viz.* a parliamentary Right, an hereditary Right, and a Right by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Will, which ſhe made in *Writing*:

Whereas it is evident, he could have no other Right than that of Inheritance; neither did the Privy-Council when they proclamed him, or the Parliament in their Act of Recognition, mention any other Right. As to a parliamentary Right, the Statute of 35 *Hen.* VIII. already mentioned, which gives that Prince a Power of disposing of the Crown, and which he did accordingly dispose of to the *Suffolk* Family, to the Prejudice of his Sister *Margaret*, from whom King *James* descended. This gave that Family a parliamentary Right, and, in the Opinion of some, *extinguished even the hereditary Right of King* James. And as to any Right he could have by Queen *Elizabeth*'s written Will, it is evident she never made any *written* Will in relation to the Succession of the Crown. This is all a Forgery of *Rapin* and his Friends: And if she had made such a Will, that could not repeal the Act of Settlement above-mentioned; and consequently he wanted two of the Rights mention'd in *Rapin* at least.

A Forgery of *Rapin*'s.

But these Gentlemen a very few Pages afterwards, *viz. p.* 237. suggest, that there is no such thing as hereditary Right; which, if it were true, King *James* could have no Title at all. The Words in this Translation of *Tindal*'s, are, That *no Law can be produced on which may be founded the hereditary Succession of the Crown of* England; *and that there are abundance of Precedents where the Parliament have assum'd a Power to dispose of the Crown, without any regard to the next Heir.*

Both the Common and Statute Law make the Crown hereditary.

These Assertions must appear very strange to any one that is acquainted with the *English* Laws and Constitution, for both the Common and Statute Law declare the Crown to be

be hereditary. By the Common Law, or immemorial Cuſtom, the Crown has generally been claimed and inherited by the next in Blood, both before and ſince the Conqueſt. 'Tis true, there have been ſome Uſurpations, but moſt of thoſe Uſurpers, if not all of them, have either pretended an hereditary Right, or a Ceſſion from thoſe that had that Right; or that they have been appointed to ſucceed by the Will of the preceding King, as in two or three Reigns after the Conqueſt, when the Legiſlative Power was lodg'd in the Crown; but ſince the Parliament have had a Share in the Legiſlature, it has been acknowledged that no Authority leſs than that of the King and Parliament, can alter the Succeſſion.

The Parliament never diſpos'd of the Crown without regard to the Succeſſion.

To affirm alſo, that the Parliament have frequently diſpoſed of the Crown, without any Regard to the next Heir, is notoriouſly falſe; for when the Parliament were drawn in to aſſiſt in the depoſing of *Edward* II. we find the Crown deſcended to his immediate Heir *Edward* III. Nor would that Prince aſſume the Title till his Father made a Ceſſion of his Right to the Crown. Again, when *Richard* II. was depoſed, *Henry* IV. claimed the Crown as next Heir of *Henry* III. pretending at leaſt a prior Title to the preceding King: And when he found the People had diſcovered he was not next Heir to *Henry* III. he publiſhed a Proclamation, declaring that King *Richard* had reſign'd the Kingdom to him, and that he was *his* next *Heir Male*; which laſt Pretence, tho' it was in reality no better than the former, yet ſhews his Senſe that the Crown was hereditary. Indeed in all the Contentions between the Houſes of

York and *Lancaſter*, the Diſpute was which Family was neareſt allied to the Crown; which would have been extremely abſurd, if the Crown had not been admitted on all ſides to be hereditary. It is obſervable alſo, that in the Act which ſettled the Crown on *Henry* IV. the Succeſſion was limited to him *and his Heirs*; and ſo it was in every Statute that was made either in the behalf of the Houſe of *York* or the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. The Crown was ſettled on the reſpective Kings *and their Heirs*, and in the Preambles to moſt of them, it is recited, that the Crown was hereditary; ſo that it is become hereditary by Act of Parliament as well as by Cuſtom. And when both Common Law, or Cuſtom, and the Statute Law agree in this, How trifling is it in the Compilers of *Rapin* to ſay, in his Perſon, *I know of no Law that can be produced, on which may be founded the hereditary Succeſſion of the Crown of* England? Had they ſpoke out, they would have ſaid, in the ſame Republican Strain, *They knew of no Law that obliged them to be ſubject to any Kings, for that all Kings were indeed ſubject to their People*, as they did when they had the Power in their Hands in *England* during the Uſurpation of the Rump; but all Doctrines are not proper to be divulged at all times. I proceed to give ſome further Inſtances of the Crown's being declared hereditary by Parliament.

When *Richard* Duke of *York* conteſted with *Henry* VI. for the Crown, he made out his Title by a lineal Deſcent from *Edward* I. the eldeſt Son of *Henry* III. and ſhew'd, that *Henry* VI. was deſcended from a younger Branch of that Family; and accordingly the Duke of *York*'s Claim was acknowledged to be

be juſt in Parliament: But in regard that *Henry* VI. had been upon the Throne ſeveral Years, and the Duke of *York* had not till lately made his Claim, and all People had taken the Oaths to *Henry* VI. it was agreed between them, that *Henry* ſhould hold the Crown for his Life, and then that it ſhould revert to *Richard* Duke of *York and his Heirs*, and the Parliament ſwore to this Succeſſion. *Edward* the eldeſt Son of the ſaid *Richard* Duke of *York*, on the Death of his Father (*Henry*'s Party having broke the aboveſaid Agreement) was proclaim'd King of *England* by the Name of *Edward* IV. and the Parliament afterwards declar'd he had a Title by Deſcent, as he was nearer allied to the Crown than the preceding King *Henry* VI. And it is obſervable, that at the Acceſſion of *James* I. the Reign I am conſidering, the Parliament did not pretend to confer upon that Monarch any new Title, or indeed to confirm that he had already, but only to *recognize* it, acknowledging that immediately upon the Deceaſe of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Crown of *England* did, by inherent Birthright, and lawful and undoubted Succeſſion, deſcend to King *James*, as being lineally, juſtly, and lawfully next and ſole Heir of the Blood Royal; *and they do moſt humbly and faithfully ſubmit and oblige themſelves, their Heirs, and Poſterities, to his Majeſty and his Royal Progeny and Poſterity for ever.* And if this is not ſufficient to convince any Man of common Senſe, that the Crown was hereditary, *I don't know*, in *Rapin*'s Phraſe, what Evidence can convince him.

His Marriage and Iſſue.

King *James* I. married *Anne* the Daughter of *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*, by whom he

he had Iſſue, 1. *Henry* his eldeſt Son, who died at eighteen Years of Age unmarried; 2. *Robert*, who died in his Infancy; 3. *Charles* who ſucceeded his Father. He had Iſſue alſo four Daughters, 1. *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* V. Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Elector, Cupbearer, and High-Steward of the *Roman* Empire (ſometimes ſtil'd King of *Bohemia*;) 2. *Margaret*, who died in her Infancy; 3. *Mary*, who liv'd two Years and five Months; and 4. *Sophia*, who died three Days after ſhe was born.

Statutes in this Reign.

The Statutes of the greateſt Importance which paſſed in this Reign, are

Act of Recognition.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 1. Being a Recognition that the Crown was lawfully deſcended to King *James* (which has been mentioned already.)

Biſhops Lands.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 3. This Statute diſabled Biſhops from alienating or transferring their Lands and Revenues to the Crown.

Recuſants.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 4. Enacts, That all Statutes made againſt Popiſh Recuſants, ſhall be put in Execution.

Stabbing.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 8. Deprives Criminals of their Clergy, who have been guilty of Stabbing.

Alehouſes.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 9. Enacted that an Alehouſe-keeper, or Inn-keeper, who ſhould ſuffer any Perſon to ſit tipling in his Houſe, ſhou'd forfeit Ten Shillings (except Perſons invited by Travellers, except Labourers and Handicraft Men an Hour at Dinner, and except Labourers and Workmen lodging in ſuch Houſes.)

Bigamy Felony, unleſs the Party is abſent ſeven Years.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 11. Enacted, that it ſhall be Felony to marry a ſecond Huſband or Wife, the firſt being alive; unleſs where the Huſband or Wife remains ſeven Years beyond Sea, or are abſent in the King's Dominions, the one not knowing the other to be living.

1 *Jac.* 1.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 12. Enacted, That if any Perſon ſhall uſe or exerciſe any Invocation or Conjuration of an evil Spirit, or ſhall conſult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward any evil Spirit, or take up any dead Corps, or the Skin, Bone, or any other part of any dead Perſon, to be employed in Witchcraft, Charm, or Inchantment; or ſhall practiſe Witchcraft, *&c.* whereby any Perſon ſhall be killed or hurt; that then ſuch Offenders, their Aiders, Abetters, and Counſellors, ſhall ſuffer Death as Felons, without Benefit of Clergy. Witchcraft *&c.* Felony without Clergy.

And if any Perſon ſhall take upon them to tell or declare, by Witchcraft, Charm, or Sorcery, where any Treaſure of Gold or Silver may be found, or where Goods loſt or ſtoln may be found, they ſhall ſuffer one Year's Impriſonment, and be ſet in the Pillory every Quarter of that Year. Diſcovering Treaſure or loſt Goods, the Puniſhment.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 15. 21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 19. Contains the Deſcription of a Bankrupt, and directs how he ſhall be dealt with. Bankrupts.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 21. Enacts, That any Sale or Pawn made to a Cloaths-Broker or Pawn-Broker in *London* or *Weſtminſter*, or within two Miles thereof (of ſtoln Goods) ſhall not alter the Property but the Owner may have them again. Stoln Goods ſold or pawn'd in *London*.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 27. It is enacted, That unqualified Perſons killing or deſtroying any Pidgeon, Hearn, Mallard, Duck, Teal, Widgeon, Pheaſant, Partridge, Greaſe, Heathcock, Moregame, or Hare with Gun or Bow; or ſhall take, kill, or deſtroy any Pheaſant, Partridge, or Pidgeon, with Setting-Dogs and Nets, or with any Nets, Snares, Engines, or Inſtruments whatſoever; or ſhall take Game, the Penalty of taking it. Or of Pidgeons.

take or deſtroy Hares with Snares, *&c.* he ſhall ſuffer three Months Impriſonment for every ſuch Pheaſant, Partridge, Pidgeon, Hare, *&c.* ſo taken or kill'd, or pay the Sum of twenty Shillings to the Church-Wardens for the uſe of the Poor.

Tonnage and Poundage granted to the King for Life.

1 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 33. A Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage, together with a Subſidy on Wool and Leather, is hereby granted to the King for Life.

Powder-Plot.

3 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 1. Enacts an Anniverſary Thankſgiving for the Deliverance from the Powder-Plot.

Papiſts Oaths.

3 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 4. An Act for the diſcovering and repreſſing of Popiſh Recuſants, wherein the Oath of Obedience is required to be taken.

Papiſts, their Diſabilities, *&c.*

3 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 5. An Act to prevent Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants, wherein a Reward is given to thoſe who diſcover Prieſts, or thoſe who ſay or hear Maſs: Recuſants are diſabled to execute any Office in the Commonwealth, and diſabled to ſue, *&c.* as Perſons excommunicated: A Recuſant forfeits 100 *l.* who ſends his Child beyond Sea; and ſuch Child remaining a Recuſant after eighteen, is render'd incapable of inheriting or enjoying Lands or Goods tranſferred or deſcending to him; and the Diſpoſal of Livings in his Gift, is given to the Univerſities.

Criminals ſent to Jail.

3 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 10. The Pariſh obliged to be at the Charge of ſending a Criminal to Jayl, where the Criminal himſelf has no Effects.

Hunting Deer or Conies, the Penalty.

3 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 13. Perſons hunting unlawfully in any Park or Warren, to ſuffer three Months Impriſonment, pay treble Damages, and

and give Security for their good Behaviour for ſeven Years.

3 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 15. A Court of Conſcience eſtabliſhed in *London* for Debts under Forty Shillings. Small Debts in *London.*

3 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 18. An Act for cutting the *New-River* from *Chadwell* and *Amwell* to *London.* *New River*

3 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 21. A Player uſing the Name of God profanely, forfeits Ten Pounds. Stage Profaneneſs.

4 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 1. All hoſtile Laws between *England* and *Scotland* extinguiſhed. *Scotland.*

4 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 5. 7 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 5. A Perſon convicted of Drunkenneſs to pay Five Shillings, or to be ſet in the Stocks; and every Perſon ſitting tipling in an Alehouſe, to forfeit Three Shillings and Four Pence. Drunkenneſs.

4 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 12. Another Act for bringing the *New-River* to *London.* *New River*

4 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 13. An Act for draining the Fens in the Iſle of *Ely.*

7 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 2. Perſons naturaliz'd or reſtored to Blood, to receive the Sacrament and take the Oaths. Naturalization.

7 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 4. Houſes of Correction to be provided in every County, and the Government of them. Houſes of Correction.

7 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 5. Empowers Juſtices of Peace, Conſtables, and other Officers, to plead the general Iſſue, and give the ſpecial Matter in Evidence, and gives them double Coſts. Juſtices ſued to have double Coſts.

7 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 6. All Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and all Officers civil and military, Members of Colleges, School-Maſters, and Practiſers of the Law or Phyſick, to take the Oath of Obedience, or they incur a Præmunire. Oaths to the Government.

7 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 9. Recites, that whereas his Majeſty, for the refuting of Errors and Hereſies, *Chelſea* College founded.

sies, had founded a College at *Chelsea*, and therein placed certain Divines, incorporated by the Name of *the Provost and Fellows of the College of King* James *in* Chelsea *near* London.

To be maintain'd by Water brought to *London* from the *Lea*.

That it should be lawful for the said Provost and Fellows to cut a Channel or Trench for bringing Water from the River *Lea* in *Hackney*-Marsh to the City of *London*, for the perpetual Maintenance of the said Provost and Fellows, and their Successors, by the Rent to be made of the said Waters.

Game.

7 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 11. Enacts further Penalties for killing Pheasants and Partridges; and the Qualification to kill Game made Forty Pounds *per Ann.* and Constables, empowered by a Justice's Warrant, to search for Game, and for Setting-Dogs and Nets, and destroy them.

Search Dogs and Nets.

Book Debts.

7 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 12. No Tradesman's Shop-book to be given in Evidence for any Goods delivered above a Year before the Action brought.

Deer.

7 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 13. A Forfeiture of Ten Pounds, or treble Damages, given for hunting or killing a Deer in any Park.

Possessors of Crown Lands quieted.

21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 2. Enacted, That concealed Lands should not be recovered by the Crown, unless it was proved the King had a Title to them within Sixty Years.

Monopolies, Dispensations, Penalties, compounded.

21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 3. All unlawful Monopolies and Dispensations with penal Laws, declared void; Compositions for the Forfeitures on the Breach of any penal Statute before Judgment, also declared void.

Offences try'd in the proper County.

21 *Jac.* 1. *c.* 4. Informations on penal Statutes, to be laid in the County where the Offence is committed.

21 *Jac*

21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 12. Enacts, That an Action brought againſt a Juſtice of Peace, Conſtable, *&c.* for what they ſhall do in their reſpective Offices, ſhall be brought in the proper County, and the Juſtice, *&c.* to have double Coſts if the Plaintiff is Nonſuit, *&c.*

Juſtices ſued, double Coſts given them.

21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 16. Actions perſonal are to be brought within a certain limited time, *viz.* Actions on the Caſe for Words within two Years, Actions of Treſpaſs, of Aſſault, Battery, wounding, or Impriſonment, within four Years, Actions on the Caſe, Actions of Account, Actions of Debt, Detinue, Replevin, and *Quare Clauſum fregit*, within Six Years.

Statute of Limitation.

Perſonal Actions.

Writs of Formedon in Deſcender, Remainder, or Reverter, to be brought within twenty Years; and all Entries into Lands to be made within twenty Years after the Title accrues, where the Party is within the four Seas, of ſane Memory, and not under Covert, Impriſon'd, or an Infant.

Writs of Formedon, Entry into Lands, muſt be within 20 Years.

21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 20. None ſhall profanely ſwear or curſe, on pain of paying One Shilling for every Offence, or in default of Payment to be ſet in the Stocks. *A ſubſequent Statute makes the Penalty Two Shillings, where the Offender is above a Servant or Labourer.*

Swearing and Curſing, the Penalty.

21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 23. No Suit ſhall be removed out of any Town corporate after Iſſue joined, or where the Demand is not above Five Pounds; provided a Barriſter be Judge of ſuch inferior Court, and that a foreign Plea, *&c.* may not be pleaded to the Action brought.

Suits in inferior Courts not to be removed in certain Caſes.

21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 26. Enacts, That it ſhall be Felony to levy a Fine, or ſuffer a Recovery in another Man's Name.

Fines and Recovery Felony.

Murder to conceal a dead Bastard Child.

21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 27. Enacted that where a Woman shall conceal her Bastard Child, and it be found dead, she shall be adjudg'd to have murder'd it, unless she can prove by one Witness it was born alive.

Thames. Oxford.

21 *Jac.* 1. *cap.* 32. Enacted that the River *Thames* should be made Navigable to *Oxford*.

PEERS created in this Reign.

H. Howard

IN the 1st Year of this Reign, *Henry Howard*, younger Brother of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, was made Earl of *Northampton*;

Sackvile.

Thomas Sackvile, Lord *Buckhurst*, was made Earl of *Dorset*; and shortly after, *Charles*

Blunt.

Blunt, Lord *Mountjoy*, was made Earl of *De-*

T. Howard.

vonshire, and *Thomas Howard*, Baron of *Wal-*

H. Grey.

den, was made Earl of *Suffolk*; *Henry Grey* was made Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Stamford*;)

D'Anvers.

Henry D'Anvers was made Baron of *Denby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of

Petre.

Denby;) Sir *John Petre* of *Essex* was made

Russel.

Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *William Russel* was

Gerard.

made Baron of *Thornaugh*; Sir *Thomas Gerard* was made Baron of *Gerards Bromley*, in *Staf-*

Spencer.

fordshire; Sir *Robert Spencer* was made Baron of *Wormelayton*, in the County of *Warwick*;

Egerton.

Sir *Thomas Egerton* was made Baron of *Else-*

R. Cecil.

mere; Sir *Robert Cecil* was created Baron of

Harrington.

Hendon, in *Rutlandshire*; and Sir *John Harrington* was made Baron of *Exton*.

In his 2d Year, on the 20th of *May*, Sir

R. Sidney.

Robert Sidney was made Baron of *Penhurst*;

Knowles.

Sir *William Knowles*, Baron of *Grays*; Sir *Ed-*

Wotton.

ward Wotton, Baron of *Marley*; and *Mildmay*

Mildmay.

Fane, Lord *de Spencer*; and in *August* the same

ſame Year, Sir *Robert Cecil*, Baron of *Eſſenden*, was created Viſcount *Cranburn*. *R. Cecil.*

In his 3d Year, on the 4th of *May*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, Viſcount *Cranburn*, was created Earl of *Saliſbury*; Sir *Thomas Cecil*, his elder Brother, Lord *Burghley*, was created Earl of *Exeter*; and Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, was created Earl of *Montgomery*; *Robert Sidney*, Baron of *Penhurſt*, was created Viſcount of *Liſle*; Sir *John Stanhope* was made Baron of *Harrington*; Sir *George Carew*, Baron of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundel* of *Devonſhire*, Baron of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendiſh*, Baron of *Hardwick*. *Tho. Cecil.* *P. Herbert.* *R. Sidney.* *Stanhope.* *Carew.* *Arundel.* *Cavendiſh.*

In his 4th Year, on the 4th of *July*, Sir *Thomas Knevet* was call'd by Writ to the Parliament, by the Name of Baron of *Eſtrick*, and was thereby Baron of that Title; and on the 7th of *September*, Sir *Jervis Clifton* was likewiſe call'd by Writ to the Parliament, by the Name of Baron of *Layton Bromſenſold*, and was thereby Baron of that Title. *Knevet.* *Clifton.*

In his 9th Year, upon *Eaſter-Monday*, Sir *Robert Carr* was created Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and, *R. Carr.*

In his 10th Year, on the 4th of *November*, was created Earl of *Somerſet*.

In his 11th Year, *Lewis Stuart* Duke of *Lenox* was made Earl of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Richmond*. *Stuart.*

In his 13th Year, on the 29th of *June*, Sir *James Hay* of *Scotland*, was created Baron of *Sawley*, and about three Years after was made Viſcount *Doncaſter*, and Sir *Robert Dormer* was created Baron of *Wyng*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Caernarvon*.) *Hay.* *Dormer.*

In

In his 14th Year, on the 9th of *July*, Sir *Hollis.* *John Hollis*, Knt. was created Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*, in the County of *Nottingham*; and Sir *John Roper* of *Kent*, was made *Roper.* Baron of *Tenham*: And on the 17th of *Auguſt*, Sir *George Villars* was created Baron of *Villars.* *Wadham* and Viſcount *Villars*: And on the *Egerton.* 7th of *November*, *Thomas Egerton*, Lord *Elſemere*, was created Viſcount *Brackley*, but he dying ſoon after, his Son *John* was created *Knowles.* Earl of *Bridgwater*; *William*, Lord *Knowles*, was created Viſcount *Wallingford*; and Sir *P. Stanhope.* *Philip Stanhope* was created Baron of *Shelford*. *Villars.* On the 5th of *January*, the Viſcount *Villars* was created Earl of *Buckingham*; and on the *Noel.* 3d of *March*, Sir *Edward Noel* of *Rutlandſhire* was made Baron of *Ryddington*.

In his 15th Year, on *New-Year's Day*, *Villars.* Sir *George Villars*, Earl of *Buckingham*, was created Marquis of *Buckingham*; and on the *Bacon.* 12th of *July* Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, was created Baron of *Verulam*, and not long after Viſcount St. *Albans*. Alſo in the Summer of this Year, the Viſ- *J. Stanhope.* count *Liſle* was made Earl of *Leiceſter*; the *Compton.* Lord *Compton* was made Earl of *Northamp-* *Rich.* *ton*; the Lord *Rich* was made Earl of *War-* *Cavendiſh.* *wick*; the Lord *Cavendiſh* was made Earl of *Compton.* *Devonſhire*; and the Lady *Compton*, Wife to Sir *Thomas Compton*, and Mother of the Marquis of *Buckingham*, was created Counteſs of *Buckingham*.

In his 16th Year, on the 25th of *Novem-* *Digby.* *ber*, Sir *John Digby*, Vice-Chamberlain to the King, was created Baron of *Sherbourn*, by Patent to him and his Heirs Male.

In his 17th Year, in the Month of *June*, *E. Stuart.* *Eſme Stuart*, Lord *D'Aubigny*, younger Brother

ther to the Duke of *Lenox*, was created Earl of *March*; *James*, Marquis *Hamilton*, was created Earl of *Cambridge*; and Sir *John Villars*, Brother to the Marquis of *Buckingham*, was created Baron of *Stock* and Viſcount *Purbeck*. *Hamilton. J. Villars.*

In his 18th Year, *William Cavendiſh* was created Viſcount *Mansfield*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Newcaſtle:*) And on *Monday* the 4th of *December*, Sir *Henry Montague*, being firſt made Lord Treaſurer, was created Baron of *Kimbolton* and Viſcount *Mandevile*, and not long after Earl of *Manchester*; and Sir *John Ramſey*, Viſcount *Haddington* of *Scotland*, was created Earl of *Holderneſs*; and *William Fielding* was created Baron of *Newenham* and Viſcount *Fielding*. *W. Cavendiſh. H. Montague. Ramſey. Fielding.*

In his 19th Year, *Henry Carew* was made Lord *Carew* of *Leppington*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Monmouth*;) Sir *Edward Montague*, elder Brother to the Viſcount *Mandevile*, was made Baron of *Bolton*; the Lord *Darcy* of *Eſſex* was created Viſcount *Colcheſter*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Rivers*;) the Lord *Hundſdon* was created Viſcount *Rochford*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Dover*;) Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, Maſter of the Wards, was created Baron *Cranfield*, in *Bedfordſhire*; and Sir *Thomas Howard*, ſecond Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, was created Baron of *Charleton*; and Viſcount *Andover*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Berkſhire.*) *H. Carew. E. Montague. Darcy. Hunſdon. Cranfield. T. Howard.*

In his 20th Year, in the Month of *September*, the Viſcount *Doncaſter* was created Earl of *Carliſle*; the Viſcount *Fielding* was created Earl of *Denbigh*; the Lord *Digby*, was made Earl of *Briſtol*; the Lord *Cranfield* was *Hay. Fielding. Digby. Cranfield.*

H. Rich. was created Earl of *Middlesex*; and Sir *Henry Rich* was made Baron of *Kensington*.

T. Villars. In his 21st Year, the Marquis of *Buckingham* being then in *Spain* with Prince *Charles*, had his Patent sent him to be Duke of *Buckingham*; *W. Grey.* *William Grey* was created Baron of *Finch.* *Werk*; *Elizabeth*, Widow of Sir *Moyle Finch*, of *Kent*, was created Viscountess *Maidstone*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Countess of *Winchelsea.*)

Clenriccard In his 22d Year, the Earl of *Clanriccard* of *Ireland*, was created Viscount *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl *J. Hollis.* of St. *Albans*;) Sir *John Hollis*, Knt. Baron *Haughton*, of *Haughton*, was created Earl of *Clare*; Sir *Henry Rich*, Baron of *Kensington*, *Rich.* *Fines.* was created Earl of *Holland*; the Lord *Fines* Baron *Say* and *Seal*, was made Viscount *Say* *Fane.* and *Seal*; Sir *Francis Fane* was created Earl *St. John.* of *Westmorland*; *Oliver*, Lord *St. John Bletc. Villars.* *soe*, was made Earl *Bullinbrook*; Sir *Christopher Villars*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Earl of *Anglesea*; and Sir *Ley.* *James Ley* was made Lord *Ley*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Marlborough.*)

Leak. Also this Year Sir *Francis Leak* was made *Roberts.* Baron of *Deincourt*; and Sir *Richard Roberts* was made Lord *Roberts* of *Truro*, in *Cornwall.*

The End of the Reign of King JAMES I.

CHAP.

CHARLES I.

T. Mynde Sculp.

P. Aris Impr.

CHAP. XXXV.

Contains the Reign of King CHARLES I.

KING *CHARLES* ſucceeded to the Crown with as univerſal a Joy as can be imagin'd, if we may credit the Lord *Clarendon*, who was an Eye Witneſs of it. This Prince piouſly attending his Father in his laſt Illneſs, at *Theobalds*, in *Hertfordſhire*, was proclaim'd there and at *London* the ſame Day the late King died, *(viz.)* on *Sunday* the 27th of *March*, 1625, and in the Evening his Majeſty came in a cloſe Coach to his Palace of St. *James*'s, where the Privy-Council being aſſembled, a Proclamation was publiſh'd as uſual, authorizing all Officers and Magiſtrates to act in their reſpective Stations till further Orders; and as the Nation was engag'd in War, the late King's Treaſury exhauſted, and a Debt of three hundred thouſand Pound contracted by the Crown, it was alſo thought neceſſary to ſummon a Parliament to meet as ſoon as poſſible. In the mean time, the Corps of the late King having been brought to *Somerſet-Houſe*, was buried from thence with great Solemnity in *Weſtminſter-Abby*, on the 7th of *May*, the King himſelf attending the Herſe as chief Mourner.

A.D. 1625
1 *Car.* I.
The Acceſſion of King *Charles* I.
A Parliament ſummon'd.
The late King buried.

The next remarkable Event in this Reign, was the Solemnization of the Marriage which had been agreed on in the laſt, between his preſent Majeſty and the Princeſs *Henrietta-Maria*, the younger Siſter of the *French* King *Lewis* XIII. and Daughter of *Henry* IV. This Marriage was celebrated on *Sunday* the

The King married to the Princeſs *Henrietta* of *France*.

*A.D.*1625 11th of *May*, at the Cathedral of *Notredame*, at *Paris*, the Duke of *Chevreux* acting as
1 *Car.* I. Proxy for King *Charles*; and soon after the Duke of *Buckingham* was sent over to *Paris*, accompanied with great Numbers of the Nobility of both Sexes, to conduct the Royal Bride to *England*. They left *Paris* on the 2d of *June*, being attended by the *French* King and the whole Court as far as *Amiens*, where having been magnificently entertain'd for fourteen Days, the young Queen proceeded in her Journey towards *England*, and his Most Christian Majesty return'd to *Paris*.

She sets out for *England*.

The Duke of *Bucks*'s Intrigue with the Queen of *France*.

It is related, even by the Lord *Clarendon*, that the Duke of *Bucks*, while he was in *France*, had the Assurance to make his Addresses to a Lady of the highest Rank (generally suppos'd to be the Queen of *France*) and that after the *French* King had taken his leave of the Queen of *England*, his Sister, and committed her to the Care of the Duke of *Bucks*, the Duke had form'd a Design of seeing the *French* Queen again in private, but the Scheme was discover'd, and such Provision made for his reception, that he would certainly have been assassinated if he had persisted in the Attempt; but he had just so much Notice given him of the Discovery of his Design as to escape the Danger; however, to this Disappointment of the Duke's, many ascribe that Aversion to the *French* Court he afterwards manifested, and look upon it as one of the principal Motives of his engaging his Master in a War with that Crown. But to proceed.

The Queen arrives in *England*,

The young Queen embarking at *Bologn* the 12th of *June*, *O. S.* landed the next Morning at *Dover*, where she was met by the

the King, conducted to *Canterbury*, and the same Day, *viz.* the 13th of *June*, the Parties having ratified the Marriage Contract in Person, the Nuptials were consummated that Night; after which the whole Court advanc'd by easy Journies towards *London*, and arriv'd at *Whitehall* the 16th Instant, whither the King and Queen went by Water from *Gravesend*, the Plague then raging with great Fury in the City. The Queen's Family of *French* Roman Catholick Servants were settled at *Somerset-House*, and the Popish Service celebrated in the Chapel according to the Articles of Marriage; the *Capuchins*, and Roman Catholick Priests who belong'd to her Majesty, appeared publickly in the Streets in their Habits, which gave great Offence to the People, already too much alarm'd with the Fears of Popery.

A.D. 1625
1 *Car.* I.

and the Marriage is consummated.

Her Family and Priests reside at *Somerset-House*.

Two Days after the Queen's Arrival, *viz.* on the 18th of *June*, the Parliament assembled, to whom his Majesty made a Speech, wherein he shew'd, that his late Majesty had broken the Peace with *Spain*, at the Instance of the Commons, and upon their engaging to support him, had made great Preparations by Sea and Land to carry on the War with Vigour; he desir'd, therefore, they would use Dispatch in raising the necessary Supplies, as the Season for Action requir'd; and put them in mind that their Lives would be endanger'd by the Pestilence, if the Session was extended to too great a Length; concluding with a Declaration, that tho' some Men maliciously accus'd him of Indifference in Religion, the World should see that none was more desirous of promoting the Religion he profess'd than himself.

The King's Speech at the Opening of the Parliament

*A.D.*1625 — 1 *Car.* I.

The Lord Keeper, Biſhop *Williams*, alſo made a Speech of much the ſame Tenor; to which he added, that the Supplies which were given in the late Reign, had already been expended in the Service they were deſigned for. But no Repreſentations, no Arguments, could prevail with the Commons to grant the King Supplies ſufficient to carry on the War with Honour; they pretended to be alarm'd at the Encreaſe of Popery, and complained heavily of their Grievances, which they inſiſted ſhould be redreſs'd before they conſider'd of Ways and Means to carry on the War: But their greateſt Grievance ſeems to have been the Duke of *Buckingham*'s remaining at the Head of Affairs, whom they were determined to remove at all hazards.

The Parliament fall upon their Grievances.

They ſtrike chiefly at the Duke of *Bucks.*

The Parliament, the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, conſiſted chiefly of the ſame Men who had in the late Reign ſo raſhly adviſ'd the War, but did not however think themſelves oblig'd to make good any Declarations they had made for maintaining the War in the preceding Reign: And notwithſtanding the Affection they formerly pretended for the Duke, they now manifeſted their Prejudices and Animoſity againſt him; all the Actions of his Life were ripp'd up and ſurvey'd, and his ill Management made the ground of their refuſing the King a Supply; they who flatter'd him moſt before, mention'd him now with the greateſt Bitterneſs; and the ſame Men who had call'd him *our Saviour* (particularly Sir *Edward Coke*) for bringing the Prince out of *Spain*, call'd him now the Corrupter of the King, and Betrayer of the Liberties of the People, without ſhewing the leaſt Crime he had committed ſince the time they ſo much

much ador'd him; *ſo fluctuating and unſteady,* *A.D.*1625
ſays the noble Hiſtorian, *is the Applauſe of* 1 *Car.* I.
popular Councils.

But tho' the Duke was principally ſtruck at by the leading Men in the Houſe of Commons, Religion, as has been intimated already, was made one great Pretence of their Diſaffection; and they exclaim'd equally againſt *Arminianiſm* and Popery. Mr. *Montague*, one of the King's Chaplains, whom they denominated an *Arminian*, was compelled to appear at the Bar of the Commons, for a Book he had dedicated to his Majeſty, call'd *An Appeal to* Cæſar. The Book was voted to be contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Religion, and *Montague* oblig'd to give Two thouſand Pounds Security for his Appearance at their Bar, when they ſhould ſummon him; whereby they took the Buſineſs out of the Hands of the proper Judges, the Ordinary and the High Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, whoſe Power in Religious Matters had been eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament. The King look'd upon this not only as an Encroachment on his Supremacy, but let the Houſe know, that he was not pleas'd with their taking one of his Servants into Cuſtody, who was as free from Arreſts and Impriſonments, as the Servants of the Members of Parliament (as had been adjudg'd by the Lords in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*) and therefore reſum'd the Cognizance of *Montague*'s Cauſe, with which the Commons appear'd to be extremely offended.

Proceedings of the Commons againſt Dr. *Montague* the King's Chaplain.

The King however giving a diſtinct and ſatisfactory Anſwer to the Petitions the Commons preſented him with on the Head of Religion and their other Grievances, they

A Supply granted.

were

*A.D.*1625 1 *Car.* I.

were induced to grant him two Subſidies, amounting to about One hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds. Whereupon the King laid before them the Diſburſements that had been made relating to the Army and Navy, and ſhew'd that Seven hundred thouſand Pounds was abſolutely neceſſary to carry on the War to any Advantage; but they were ſo far from enlarging the Supply, that they refus'd to ſettle the Duties of Tonage and Poundage on him for more than one Year, tho' they had conſtantly been granted to his Predeceſſors for Life, for the Support of the Civil Liſt, and the ordinary Guard of the Seas. The Lords look'd upon the granting of the Bill of Tonage for a Year only, to be ſo great an Affront and Injury to his Majeſty, that they threw it out of their Houſe, and the King's Officers continued to collect thoſe Duties by the ſole Authority of his Majeſty, which was look'd upon as one of the greateſt Grievances in this Reign, and made uſe of to incite the People againſt the King.

But Tonage and Poundage refus'd to be ſettled for more than a Year.

The Parliament having ſat three Weeks, and ſhewing no Inclination to raiſe Supplies ſuitable to the King's Neceſſities, were on the 11th of *July* adjourn'd to the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, when they were to meet at *Oxford*; as well to avoid the Infection of the Plague, as in hopes they might, after ſome Receſs, be reduc'd to a better Temper; but ſo far were the Court miſtaken in their Expectations, that the Parliament were no ſooner aſſembled at *Oxford*, than they ſummon'd Mr. *Montague* to appear before them again, and appointed his Book to be examined: Whereupon Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of St. *David*'s, and ſome

The Parliament adjourn'd to *Oxford*.

ſome other Biſhops, repreſented to his Majeſty, that ſome of the Opinions contained in that Book, were the receiv'd Doctrines of the Church of *England*, and the reſt were ſcholaſtical Points, wherein learned Men were left to their Liberty; and that Matters of Diſpute relating to the Church, ought to be determined only by his Majeſty and the Clergy in a National Synod: But the Commons ſtill inſiſted on their Right to examine Errors in Religion, and complained of the Encreaſe of Popery and *Arminianiſm*, but none with more Zeal than Sir *John Elliot*, a mortal Enemy to the Duke of *Bucks*. This Gentleman affirmed that the Duke was the great Protector and Encourager of Popery, and that he had ately obtain'd a Pardon for eight Popiſh Prieſts.

Sir *John Elliot* endeavours to inflame Matters.

The King finding no Advances made towards the enlarging the Supply, ſent a Meſage to the Houſe by Secretary *Conway* to quicken them, but to very little Purpoſe. They voted that the publick Money had been miſapply'd, that the State was govern'd by ll Councils, and that all Miſcarriages in the Adminiſtration, were to be aſcrib'd to the nfluence of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who ad firſt advis'd a Match with *Spain* and then vith *France*. Reſolving that Religion ought o be firſt conſider'd, and then the Kingdom's afety, before they went upon the Supply. They complained alſo that part of the *Engſh* Fleet had been employ'd againſt the Proeſtants of *Rochelle*: for it ſeems the late King *ames* had agreed to lend the *French* King ſeen or eight Ships to be employ'd againſt *pain*, but the Sailors refuſed to ſerve the *rench*, believing they were deſign'd to block up

Reflections on the King's marrying a Papiſt.

A Complaint that Ships were lent the *French* King to block up *Rochelle*.

A.D. 1625 — 1 *Car.* I.

up the Proteſtants of *Rochelle*, and thereupon quitted their Ships, which were afterwards manag'd by *French* Sailors, and ſerv'd in the Blockade of *Rochelle*, contrary to the Intention of the *Engliſh* Court. And indeed as all the Ships but one were hir'd of our Merchants, and mann'd by the *French* themſelves, there was no great matter in it; nor was it poſſible for the Court of *England* to prevent it, there being neither *Engliſh* Officers or Mariners left on board any of them. Upon which account alſo 'tis preſum'd the *French* did not think themſelves bound by their Agreement (not to employ them againſt *Rochelle*) as they wou'd have been, if thoſe Ships had been mann'd by the *Engliſh*. But what incenſed the King moſt, was, that the Commons ſtill ſtruck at his Favourite the Duke of *Bucks*. *Elliot* it ſeems declared him an Enemy to the Publick, and inſiſted that it was more neceſſary to ſerve the Nation againſt the illegal and arbitrary Meaſures adviſed by the Duke, than againſt *Spain* or any foreign Enemy whatever. Whereupon the Parliament was diſſolved after they had ſet twelve Days at *Oxford*: Of which the Commons however had ſo much notice as to draw up a Proteſt, wherein they declared that they were very ready to have aſſiſted the King with Money, if they could have procur'd a Redreſs of their Grievances. But as it now grew towards the latter end of the Year, and their ſlowneſs in granting Supplies, had in a manner defeated all the King's intended Enterprizes this Campaign, and occaſion'd his being at a very great Expence to little or no purpoſe, his Majeſty's readineſs to part with them is not much to be wonder'd at, tho' they had not fallen

Againſt the Duke of *Bucks*.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

A Proteſt of the Commons thereupon.

fallen upon his Prime Miniſter, and teaz'd him with innumerable Grievances, (moſt of them imaginary) before he had ſat three Months upon the Throne: Certain it is, the publick Good was very little conſider'd by the leading Men in this Parliament, they were determin'd rather to hazard the Honour and Safety of the Nation, than ſuffer the Duke of *Bucks* to have any Share in the Adminiſtration. They pretended to be jealous of their Religion and Liberties, but it was their Envy to ſee the Duke in that exalted Station that govern'd all their Councils; tho' on the other hand it muſt be admitted, that the Duke rather conſider'd his own Preſervation than his Maſter's Honour and Intereſt, when he adviſ'd the Diſſolution of this Parliament. He ſaw they aim'd at his Diſgrace and Ruin, and thought he could only ſecure himſelf by diſſolving them. Sir *John Elliot*, his implacable Enemy, a Man whoſe Hands had already been embrued in Blood, he plainly ſaw would be appeas'd with no leſs Sacrifice than that of his Life, under a Pretence of Zeal for the civil and religious Rights of the People; this Gentleman had gain'd a Majority of the Houſe to ſecond him in every Attempt againſt the Favourite, whom he charged as the grand Invader of their Religion and Properties. And here it may not be improper to give ſome Account of this *Elliot*, who contributed ſo much towards putting the Nation in a Flame: And the Reaſon of his Enmity to the Duke, Mr. *Echard* relates, that he was a Gentleman of a good Eſtate, but not a very ancient Family, in *Cornwall*; that he had been a Fellow-Traveller and intimate Companion of the Duke's before his Advance-

A.D. 1625
1 *Car.* I.

An Account of Sir *John Elliot* the great Incendiary.

*A.D.*1625 ment, and after that as great a Flatterer of him as any Man; that in the ſame Pariſh with *Elliot*, liv'd another Gentleman of a fair Character, named *Moyle*, ſome time a Member of Parliament, with whom *Elliot* having had a Difference, went to his Houſe under Pretence of a Viſit, and whilſt *Moyle* was drinking a Glaſs of Wine, *Elliot* treacherouſly ſtabb'd him, and leaving him dead as he imagin'd, made his Eſcape to *London*, where he apply'd himſelf to *Buckingham*, and by his Means obtain'd a Pardon for the ſuppos'd Murder (pretending *Moyle* had been kill'd in a Rencounter.) He was oblig'd however to advance a conſiderable Sum of Money to get the Pardon expedited, leſt the Baſeneſs of the Fact ſhould be diſcovered before it had paſſed the Seals; and it no ſooner was paſs'd, but *Elliot* receiv'd Advice that his Adverſary *Moyle* was in a fair way of Recovery; whereupon he apply'd himſelf to the Duke again to have his Money return'd, which his Grace did not gratify him in, but procur'd him the Honour of Knighthood, as an Equivalent for it, which was however far from making *Elliot* Satisfaction for the Money he had paid. He vow'd therefore to be reveng'd on the Duke for the Injuſtice he apprehended was done him by one who had formerly been his Equal and his Friend; and did not fail to make good his Threats on every Occaſion. Mr. *Moyle* out-liv'd this Outrage above forty Years, and himſelf gave this Relation of the Fact to the celebrated Dean *Prideaux*, from whom Mr. *Echard* had it: So that all this mighty Zeal of *Elliot*'s *for his Country* was founded in Revenge, and the greateſt Patron of Religion and Liberty in that Houſe of Commons

1 *Car.* I.

Commons appears at length to have been an infamous Aſſaſſin. But to proceed. *A.D.*1625

1 *Car.* I.

The Parliament riſing without granting the neceſſary Supplies, the King had Recourſe to the Way of Loan, the Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants in every County having by the King's Command firſt intimated to the Court what Sums every Perſon might be ſuppos'd able to lend, Privy Seals were thereupon ſent down, promiſing the Repayment of the Sums advanc'd within 18 Months; but ſuch was the Unwillingneſs of Gentlemen to lend, that there was little Money advanc'd this Way, tho' great Numbers were made Malecontents by the Demand.

Money rais'd by way of Loan.

The King however being determin'd to carry on the War againſt *Spain*, enter'd into an offenſive and defenſive Alliance with *Holland* againſt *Spain*, whereby each Party was oblig'd to furniſh twenty five thouſand Horſe and Foot; *France* and the King of *Denmark* alſo came into the Confederacy, which was declar'd to be enter'd into chiefly for the Reſtoration of the Elector Palatine.

An Alliance with *Holland*.

And that the People at home might be ſatisfied with the King's Intentions to maintain the eſtabliſh'd Religion, Proclamations were publiſh'd for ſuppreſſing and diſarming Papiſts and Popiſh Recuſants, and commanding all Students in foreign Seminaries to return home on pain of having the Laws put in Execution againſt them.

Proclamations againſt Papiſts.

But notwithſtanding the King did all that lay in his Power to quiet the Minds of his People at home, and had made the beſt Proviſion poſſible in his Circumſtances to proſecute the War with *Spain*, yet by his being diſappointed of the Supplies he expected in Par-

*A.D.*1625 liament, the Fleet could not be fitted out till the latter end of *October*, when the Season for Action was in a manner over; accordingly, they no sooner put to Sea, but they were dispers'd by a Storm, wherein they suffer'd pretty much; however the Fleet, under the Command of Sir *Edward Cecil*, (Viscount *Wimbleton*) the Admiral, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice-Admiral, having repair'd the Damage, set sail again for the Coasts of *Spain*, and at the Instance of the Earl of *Essex*, whose Father had met with such glorious Success at *Cadiz* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was resolv'd in a Council of War to attack that Town, and the Ships in the Harbour there, but having made a Descent near the Town, they were forc'd to re-imbark their Troops again, and return to *England* without effecting any thing of Moment. This ill Success in the Beginning of the King's Reign prejudic'd his Majesty's Affairs extremely, and became another Subject of Complaint.

1 *Car.* I.

The Expedition to *Cadiz*.

The Reason of the ill Success of it.

The Conduct of the Admiral was much censur'd on this Occasion, but there seemed to be something of a Fatality, or rather Providence in the Disappointment, for first the Fleet was prevented putting to Sea till Winter, then most of their Men fell sick, and as they lay off Cape *Finis-terræ*, waiting for the Plate-Fleet (in their Return from *America*) they were oblig'd to leave that Station and return to *England* four Days only before the Galeons arriv'd. Had they come upon the Coast of *Spain* in the Summer-time, as was intended, and before the *Spaniards* were appriz'd of their Design, they would probably have met with better Success in attacking their Towns, and making Prizes

upon

upon that Coaſt: And, laſtly, if the Seamen had not fallen ſick, and been prevented thereby from taking the Galeons in that critical Juncture, his Majeſty's Adminiſtration, inſtead of being diſgrac'd, would probably have been admir'd and cry'd up to the Skies, and the Enterprize looked upon as a lucky Omen of a happy Reign; whereas now all Men murmur'd at the Conduct of the Miniſtry, and the Officers they employ'd, making no Allowances for Wind or Weather, Sickneſs or other Accidents. A.D. 1625 1 Car. I.

While the Fleet was employ'd in this Expedition, there were ſome Alterations made in the Miniſtry at home. The Chancellor, Biſhop *Williams*, who had oppos'd the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Schemes, was, by the Intereſt of that Favourite, laid aſide, and the Great Seal given to Sir *Thomas Coventry*, the Attorney-General; ſoon after the King was pleas'd to create ſeveral Knights of the *Bath*, and, in order to repleniſh his exhauſted Treaſury, Precepts were directed to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties to ſummon all Men who were poſſeſs'd of Lands or Revenues of the Value of forty Pounds a Year to come to Court and receive the Order of Knighthood, which they were oblig'd to do, or pay a certain Fine. By an old Statute, indeed, every Man who had twenty Pounds *per Annum* was oblig'd to accept the Order of Knighthood, but then twenty Pounds a Year were equivalent to two hundred at the Time theſe Precepts were iſſued. This was look'd upon therefore as a very grievous Impoſition on the inferior Gentry and Yeomanry. Alterations at Court. Money rais'd by Knighthood.

And now the Plague being much abated, which had carried off no leſs than thirty five thouſand The Plague abated.

A.D 1625 thouſand People in the City of *London* only the preceding Year, and occaſion'd *Michael-mas* Term to be ajourn'd to *Reading*, the Coronation of the King and Queen was appointed to be ſolemniz'd on the ſecond of *February*; and their Majeſties were crown'd accordingly by Dr. *Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, and not by Biſhop *Laud*, as the Compilers of *Rapin* affirm; indeed Biſhop *Laud* acted as Dean of *Weſtminſter* that Day, Biſhop *Williams* the Dean being in Diſgrace; and this might poſſibly occaſion the Miſtake. There was a Clauſe reviv'd in the Office for the Coronation at this Time which had been omitted ever ſince the Reign of *Henry* VI. *viz. Let him obtain Favour of the People like* Aaron *in the Tabernacle*, Eliſha *in the Waters*, Zacharias *in the Temple: Give him* Peter's *Key of Diſcipline, and* Paul's *Doctrine*; which Paſſage had been left out in the Times of Popery, as aſcribing more eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to the King than the Court of *Rome* approved of. It was obſerv'd alſo, that the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who preach'd the Coronation Sermon, took a Text fitter for a Funeral than ſuch a joyful Occaſion, *viz. I will give thee a Crown of Life.* Another Thing very particular at this Coronation was his Majeſty's chuſing to be cloath'd in White rather than Purple, whereby ſome obſerv'd he diveſted himſelf in a manner of the Royal Dignity. But theſe Reflections, I preſume, were made after his Misfortunes happen'd.

1 *Car.* I.

The Coronation.

A ſecond Parliament ſumm'on'd.

Notwithſtanding the Miſunderſtanding between his Majeſty and the laſt Parliament, the Miniſtry thought fit to call another, imagining by their Influence they ſhould be able to

to get a Majority elected in the Intereſt of the Court: What Arts they us'd to carry their Point is not ſaid, unleſs their appointing three or four leading Men Sheriffs of their reſpective Counties, as Sir *Edward Coke* for *Bucks*, Sir *Robert Philips* for *Somerſetſhire*, and Sir *Thomas Wentworth* for *Yorkſhire*. The Duke's moſt inveterate Adverſary, Sir *John Elliot*, was return'd again in ſpite of the Court where the Art of Bribery was not arriv'd to that Perfection as it did afterwards; and indeed the Crown was ſo poor in thoſe Days, that the Country Gentlemen, who then abounded in Wealth, were able to outbid the Court; and this ſeems to be the principal Reaſon that the People choſe Repreſentatives in an oppoſite Intereſt; the Fears of Popery and Arbitrary Power inſtill'd into them might contribute alſo towards it; but the Treats and well apply'd Bribes of the Country Gentlemen probably determin'd their Choice.

A.D. 1625

1 *Car.* I.

Some Anti-Courtiers made Sheriffs.

The Parliament met on the 6th of *February*, and was open'd by the Lord-Keeper *Coventry* with a Speech, wherein he declar'd his Majeſty's Affection for Paliaments, and that the Reaſon of calling them was for framing ſuch Laws as might be for the Subjects Advantage: The Commons being retir'd to their Houſe, immediately fell upon their Grievances, ſuch as the Miſcarriage of the Fleet at *Cadiz*, evil Counſellors, the Miſapplication of the publick Revenues, the raiſing Money by Way of Loan, the levying Tonnage and Poundage without Conſent of Parliament, and the favouring of Popiſh Recuſants. For their Satisfaction in the laſt Article, the King gave Orders to the Judges

The Parliament open'd with a Speech by the Lord-Keeper.

Grievances inſiſted on.

to

A.D. 1626 to see the Laws against Papists strictly put in execution in their Circuits, which occasion'd a Member of the Commons to observe, *That there were a great many Snares set for Papists, but not one Mouse-Trap for the Puritans.* But the Puritans, it seems were so much in favour with the House at this Time, that the Gentleman was expell'd the House for his Observation.

1 *Car.* I.

A Member expelled for reflecting on the Puritans.

The King soon after sent a Message to the Commons to consider of a Supply, but they fell again upon their Grievances, and Mr. *Clement Coke*, Son of Sir *Edward Coke*, said in one of their Debates upon this Subject, *That it was better to die by an Enemy than to be destroy'd at home.* And when the King again press'd them to go upon Ways and Means, they repeated their Complaints, and only gave general Answers in relation to the Supply. The King thereupon let them know, that he would willingly hear their Grievances if they would apply themselves to redress them, and not spend their Time in enquiring after Grievances: However, he should not permit them to question his Servants, especially one in the Duke of *Buckingham's* High Post, who had rather impair'd than improv'd his Estate in the Service of the Publick, concluding with a Desire they would hasten the Supply, or it would be worse for them, for if any Evil happen'd he should be the last that felt it.

The Administration censur'd.

His Majesty resents it.

This, instead of appeasing the House, put them into a greater Ferment, and they resolv'd to attack the Duke directly. Dr. *Turner*, one of the Members, propos'd the following Queries as a Charge against him, *viz.* Whether the Duke being Admiral was not the Occasion of the Loss of the King's Sove-

A Charge against the Duke by way of Queries.

reignty

eignty of the Narrow Seas. Whether the late ill Succeſs of the Fleet, was not occaſion'd by the Admirals not being on Board? Whether the Duke had not ingroſs'd all great Offices, and preferred his undeſerving Relations? Whether his Mother was not the Patroneſs of the Popiſh Party? And whether he had not waſted the King's Treaſure? Which occaſioned another Queſtion, *viz.* Whether an Accuſation grounded upon Common Fame by a Member of the Houſe, ought to be conſidered in Parliament? And it was (on the Opinions of Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Mr. *Noy*, Mr. *Selden* and others, reſolved) *That Common Fame was a good Ground of Proceeding for the Houſe of Commons.* *A.D.*1625 1 *Car.* I.

The King being informed what the Houſe was upon, ſent them another Meſſage by Sir *Richard Weſton*, wherein he complained of the ſeditious Speeches of *Coke* and *Turner*, declaring that *Turner*'s Queries were levelled againſt his Honour and Government; that he ſhould not ſuffer an Inquiry againſt the meaneſt of his Servants, much leſs ſhould he be brought to offer them ſo great a Sacrifice, unworthy of a King and the Maſter of ſuch a Servant; and demanded Juſtice againſt *Coke* and *Turner*, that he might not be compelled to uſe his Royal Authority to right himſelf. This however did but encreaſe the ill Temper of the Houſe; Sir *William Waller* repreſented that the King's Councils being governed by the Duke of *Bucks* alone, was the occaſion of all their Misfortunes; and Sir *John Elliot* exclaimed louder than ever againſt the Duke's Adminiſtration, aggravating every thing that had the Appearance of a Grievance. Notwithſtanding which the Commons voted the King three Subſidies, and

The King declares he he will protect his Servants.

Elliot endeavours to improve the Breach between the King and Commons.

*A.D.*1626

1 *Car.* I.

A Supply voted conditional.

not long after a fourth; to shew the People that they were ready to supply his Necessities; though it was with this Restriction, that it should not pass their House till their Grievances were redress'd. Whereupon both Houses were summoned to attend his Majesty at *Whitehall*, when he thanked the Lords for the Duty and Affection they had express'd towards him; but shewed his dislike at the Proceedings of the Commons, and the Lord Keeper was directed to tell them that his Majesty was offended at the Encouragement they gave *Coke* and *Turner*, as well as with their falling on the Duke of *Bucks*; the Sincerity of whose Proceedings he was satisfied with, and must believe that their Aim was towards his Majesty's and his Father's Honour thro' him; That the Supply they proposed to give was too small for the Exigencies of the Government, and the Manner of granting it very dishonourable and full of distrust. He commanded them therefore to let him know by next *Saturday*, what they would give, without clogging their Grant with Conditions, which if they did, his Majesty was ready to forgive what was passed.

The King justifies the Duke, and reflects on the manner of granting it.

Afterwards his Majesty spoke again, and said; That now they had engaged him in a War, and thought he could not retreat, they endeavoured to set the Dice upon him and make their own Game; but that was not a Parliamentary Way, or their Way to deal with their King; that Mr. *Coke* had told them *It was better to die by a Foreign Enemy, than be destroyed at home.* And he thought it more honourable for a King to be despis'd by a Foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed by his own Subjects; That they should remember Parliaments were altogether in his Power, as to their Calling, Setting, and Dissolution; there-

fore

fore as he found the Fruits of them good or evil they were to continue or not to be; that if instead of mending their Errors they made them greater, Matters would become irreconcilable; but if they went on cheerfully with the publick Buſineſs, he ſhould be encouraged to go on with Parliaments, and he hop'd *Chriſtendom* would feel the happy Effects of it. A.D. 1626 — 1 *Car.* I.

The Commons were ſo alarm'd at theſe Speeches, that on returning to their Houſe, they ordered the Doors to be lock'd, and all other Buſineſs to be poſtpon'd, till they came to ſome Reſolution upon them. Which the King being acquainted with, order'd the Duke of *Bucks* to procure a Conference between the Lords and Commons, and to mollifie ſome Expreſſions that had fallen from him, and a Conference being agreed to, the Duke repreſented, that as to the King's giving them a ſhort Day to reſolve upon a Supply, he was willing to enlarge the Time; and if his Majeſty inſiſted on a greater Aid than they had voted, it was in Regard to the Neceſſity of his Affairs; That he did not deſign to interrupt their Proceeding in their Grievances; but hop'd they would not ſo much ſeek for Faults as the Means to redreſs them. Then the Duke made a handſome Apology for his own Conduct, and entreated their favourable Opinion of his Actions. After which the Lord *Conway* ſpoke in behalf of the Duke, and laid before the Houſe an Account of the Sums diſburſed in the preſent War, amounting to 300,000*l.* But the Commons were not to be pacified; they drew up a Remonſtrance, wherein they denyed part of the Words ſaid to be ſpoken by *Coke*, excuſed *Turner*, and avowed their Proceedings againſt the Duke to be agreeable to the

The Commons avow their Proceedings againſt the Duke.

*A.D.*1662 2 *Car.* I.

Uſage of Parliament, entreating his Majſty not to hearken to any private Reports of what was done in their Houſe. To which the King only anſwered, *he could return no preſent Anſwer.*

The Peers complain that ſome of their Members were not ſummon'd to Parliament.

Nor were the Commons only diſguſted at the Conduct of the Court, the Peers thought their Privileges infring'd, in that Writs had not been iſſued for ſummoning ſome of their Members to Parliament, particularly the Earls of *Arundel* and *Briſtol*, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. The Earl of *Arundel* had been impriſon'd in the *Tower* on Account of his eldeſt Son's marrying the Siſter of the Duke of *Lenox* of the Blood Royal; but the Lords inſiſting that no Peer during a Seſſion of Parliament was to be impriſon'd but by Order of the Houſe, unleſs for Treaſon, Felony, or breach of the Peace; the Lords after ſeveral Addreſſes to the Throne, procur'd his Enlargement, and he took his Place again in the Houſe. The Earl of *Briſtol* alſo had obtain'd his Enlargement on the like Application; but when he preferr'd a Petition to the Peers concerning his taking his Place in that Houſe, the Attorney General was order'd to prefer a Charge of High-Treaſon againſt him; wherein it was ſaid, he had deluded the late King, with hopes of accompliſhing the Prince's Match with the Infanta, and the Reſtoration of the *Palatinate*, when no ſuch Things were ever intended by *Spain*; that he had laid a Deſign of introducing Popery in *England*, and to that end had endeavour'd to perſuade the Prince, his preſent Majeſty, to embrace the *Romiſh* Religion, when he was in *Spain*.

The Earl of *Briſtol* charged with High-Treaſn.

With encouraging Popery, &c

The

A.D. 1626.

2 Car. I.

He Charges the Duke of *Bucks* with the like Facts.

The Earl of *Briſtol* on the other hand deſir'd leave at the Bar of the Houſe to exhibit Articles of no leſs Conſequence againſt the Duke of *Bucks*. And in theſe he ſets forth, that the Duke had conſpir'd with *Gondemar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to carry the Prince, his preſent Majeſty, into *Spain*, that he might be induc'd to change his Religion; That the Duke frequented the Popiſh Service in *Spain*, and ador'd the Sacrament of the Altar; That the Pope had ſent him a Bull to encourage him in perverting the Prince, and that the Duke had broken off the Match for ends of his own, and to gratifie his Revenge; and that he had abus'd the late King, and both Houſes of Parliament, by a ſiniſter Relation of thoſe Affairs. The Earl alſo exhibited Articles at the ſame time againſt the Lord *Conway*, charging him as a Promoter and Abetter of all the Duke's Miſcarriages. Upon reading the ſeveral Articles, the Lords order'd, That the King's Charge againſt the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhould be firſt conſider'd, and then that of the Earl's againſt the Duke, declaring at the ſame time, that the Earl's Teſtimony againſt the Duke ſhodld not be prejudic'd; which produc'd a Meſſage from his Majeſty, declaring, *That the Articles againſt the Duke were ſuch as the King of his own Knowledge could teſtifie his Sincerity* (his Innocence) *That the Earl had kept them two Years in his own Breaſt, and now vented them by way of Recrimination, and therefore a difference ought to be made between his Majeſty's Charge, and the Recrimination of the ſame Perſon againſt his Majeſty's Witneſs.* The Earl of *Briſtol* ſoon after gave in his Anſwer to the Articles exhibited againſt him, and the Peers ſeem'd to favour his Cauſe, poſſibly out of envy to the Duke

A.D 1626 — 1 *Car.* I.

Duke of *Bucks*; but the Commons apprehending the Earl's Charge againſt the Duke would come to little, preferr'd an Impeachment againſt the Duke at a Conference of the two Houſes, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*; in which they Charge him with Ingroſſing a Multitude of Officers, purchaſing the Office of Lord High Admiral, neglecting his Duty, ſeizing a *French* Ship, by which he got 20,000 *l.* extorting 10000 *l.* from the Eaſt *India* Company, ſelling the Offices of Teaſurer and Maſter of the Wards, conferring Titles and Crown Lands on his Relations, ſelling of Honours, particularly his taking 10,000 *l.* of the Lord *Roberts*, for his Patent of Creation, and laſtly with adminiſtring a Plaiſter and Potions to K. *James*, which was declared a tranſcendent Preſumption, and of dangerous Conſequence. At the preſenting of which Articles Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and Sir *John Elliot* made Speeches againſt the Duke, charging him with all the Crimes the moſt implacable Malice could ſuggeſt, for which they were both committed to the Tower, by an Order of Council.

The Duke impeached by the Commons.

Elliot and *Diggs* ſent to the Tower.

The King afterwards came to the Houſe of Lords, and in a ſhort Speech vindicated the Duke, declaring *That he could clear him of every one of the Matters whereof he was accuſed.* But the Commons were ſo exaſperated at the impriſoning their Members, that they reſolved themſelves into a grand Committee, lock'd up their Doors, and declared they would enter upon no Buſineſs till they had received Satisfaction in this Matter. Whereupon Sir *Dudley Carleton* endeavoured to appeaſe them: He moved the Houſe not to intrench upon his Majeſty's Prerogatives, leſt it ſhould make him out of love with Parliaments: He laid ſome

The King declares the Duke's Innocence on his own Knowledge.

ome blame upon Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and Sir *John Elliot*, and intimated that they had exceeded their Commiſſion; That the former mentioning the Plaiſter apply'd to King *James*, ſaid, *he did forbear to ſpeak farther in Regard of the King's Honour*; which his Majeſty conceived to be to his Diſhonour, and the latter uſed ſo many rude and bitter Reflections againſt the Duke, his prime Miniſter, that his Majeſty had thought fit to commit them. Whereupon every Member proteſted that he never gave Conſent Sir *Dudley Diggs* ſhould ſpeak the Words charged upon him, and both Sir *Dudley* and Sir *John Elliot* being releaſed, *Diggs* proteſted he never ſpoke the Words; and *Elliot* endeavoured to excuſe ſome Paſſages in his Speech; and the Houſe by a Vote juſtify'd both of them, and all the reſt of the Managers of this Impeachment.

A.D. 1626
1 *Car.* I.

Elliot and *Diggs* ſet at Liberty.

The Commons juſtify them.

In the mean time the Duke of *Buckingham*, put in a very full Anſwer to his Impeachment, and ſhewed that moſt of the Facts he was charged with lay within his Majeſty's Knowledge, or the late King's, and that he had acted by their Orders or the Advice of the Privy Council; he denyed his purchaſing the Office of Lord High Admiral, *&c.* or receiving the Sums he was charged with; and ſaid that the Grants which had been made him, were the Grants of two ſeveral Kings whom he had ſerved; and laſtly, he denied the applying the Plaiſter, or adminiſtring the Potion to King *James*; But ſaid, the King knowing the Duke had been cured of an *Ague* by thoſe Medicines, deſired to try them, and took them in the Preſence of his Phyſicians, who taſted the Potion: The Duke added, that he might poſſibly have committed ſome Error in his

The Anſwer of the Duke of *Bucks* to the Impeachment.

*A.D.*1626 his Youth, but hop'd he had been preſerv'd from running into any heinous Crimes, and that if he had offended, he claimed the Benefit of the late King's, and his preſent Majeſty's Pardon.

2 *Car.* I.

The King deſires the Commons to haſten the Supply.

The Day after the Duke put in his Anſwer, the King ſent a Letter to the Commons to haſten their Supplies; letting them know that this was the laſt Admonition he ſhould give them. He ſaid he ſhould look upon all future Delays and Excuſes as expreſs Denials.

They Addreſs againſt Papiſts.

But the Commons inſtead of going upon the Supply, preferred a Petition againſt Popiſh Recuſants, reckoning up no leſs than Forty-nine that were in publick Poſts, who were either Papiſts or ſuſpected by them to be ſo, or whoſe Wives were ſuſpected to be ſuch, or did not come to Church, deſiring they might be turned out; to which the King not returning an Anſwer to their Minds, the whole Houſe preſented his Majeſty an Addreſs in Writing, for the Removal of the Duke of *Bucks*, and that he might not be permitted to have any acceſs to his Majeſty for the future: They alſo drew up a Remonſtrance, wherein they repreſented the Illegality of levying Tonnage and Poundage, and other Aids, without Conſent of Parliament, and making an Apology for their Conduct. Whereupon the King declared his Reſolution to diſſolve them, againſt which the Lords drew up a Petition; but his Majeſty let them know he would receive no ſuch Petition, and by a Commiſſion diſſolved the Parliament on the fifteenth Day of *June*; having ſat between four and five Months, without paſſing one Act: Soon after which the Earl of *Briſtol* was committed to the Tower, and the Earl of *Arundel* confined to his Houſe: The Commons

To remove the Duke.

Againſt Tonnage *&c.*

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

mons not having an Opportunity of presenting their Remonstrance before the Parliament was dissolved, ordered every Member to have a Copy of it: In answer to which his Majesty published a Declaration, containing his Reasons for dissolving the two last Parliaments, which the Reader will find in *Nelson* and *Rushworth*. I shall only take Notice here, that the Commons in their Remonstrance ascribe these Misunderstandings chiefly to the exorbitant Power and Influence of the Duke of *Bucks*: And the King in his Answer to it, imputes them to the *ill advised Passions of a few Members of the Commons, for private and personal Ends, ill beseeming publick Persons trusted by their Country*. His Majesty also published a Proclamation, commanding all Copies of the Commons Remonstrance to be burnt, that there might remain no Memorial of it.

*A.D.*1626
2 *Car.* I.
Their Remonstrance. The King's Answer to it.

The King having received no Supplies from the Parliament to support the War he was engaged in, it was resolved to continue the Receipt of Tonnage and Poundage till it should be ratified in Parliament. A Commission also issued for putting the Penal Laws in Execution against Popish Recusants, and making the most of those Forfeitures for his Majesty's Use: But the Commissioners were impowered at the same time to compound with them on certain Conditions; the King, as it was recited, *desiring rather their Conversion than their Destruction.*

Money raised by various Means.

Another Method of raising Money was, by granting the Crown Lands in Fee Farm, which were held by Copy or otherwise; whereupon considerable Fines were paid. The King's Letters were sent also to the Nobility and Gentry, desiring their Assistance in

*A.D.*1626 this extraordinary Exigency by way of Loan,
2 *Car.* I. wherein his Majesty declared, that he expected such a large and cheerful Testimony of their Loyalty, as might be acceptable to himself and exemplary to the People; but all these Ways bringing in little clear Profit to the Crown, tho' the Subjects were oppress'd by them, the Project of Ship-Money was thought on, whereby every Maritime County and Town were ordered to provide Ships more or less, according to their respective Abilities, for the Defence of the Realm, or Money in lieu of them; the City of *London* in particular, was required to provide twenty Ships, against which the Citizens petition'd, but could meet with no Redress.

Ship Money first raised.

The King of *Denmark* and the rest of the King's Allies defeated by the Emperor.

In the mean time, the King of *Denmark* and the *German* Princes, who were in a Confederacy with *England*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, not being supported by King *Charles* in time, were defeated by Count *Tilly*, the Emperor's General, and their Countries expos'd to the Ravages of the Conqueror; which King *Charles* ascribed to the Perverseness of the Commons, who refused to grant him the necessary Supplies for the War, after they had drawn him into it: To remedy this Misfortune, and enable his Majesty to re-inforce his Allies, a general Loan was proposed, and both the Spiritual and Temporal Lords were desired to promote it in their respective Dioceses and Counties, and wherever they had any Influence; and Bishop *Laud* was employed to draw up Instructions for the Clergy, requiring them to shew the Necessities of the King's Affairs, and to stir up the People to be liberal on this Occasion; but some of the Clergy, tis presum'd, went beyon-

A Loan proposed.

yond their Instructions; particularly Doctor *Sibthorp*, who in an Assize Sermon, at *Northampton*, endeavour'd to advance the Loan, by telling the People they were bound in Conscience, to submit to such Taxes and Impositions as were required by his Majesty, without consent of Parliament: Doctor *Manwaring* also, in two Sermons preached at Court, and published by him, under the Titles of *Religion and Allegiance*, asserted, *That the King was not bound to observe the usual Customs of the Realm, but his Royal Will and Command in imposing Loans and Taxes without Consent of Parliament, did oblige the Subjects Conscience, upon pain of eternal Damnation*: Which occasioned the Clergy to be severely censured, as if this had been their general Doctrine; but in their Excuse it was observ'd, that in so large a Body, only two run into these Extremes. To proceed,

A.D. 1626. 2 *Car.* I.

Sibthorp's Sermon: That the Subject was oblig'd in Conscience to furnish him with Money.

Dr. *Manwaring*'s Sermon.

Whatever Arguments or Methods were used to advance the Payment of the Loan, the People shewed the utmost Aversion to it; And many of them absolutely refused to pay it; whereupon several of the common People were press'd into the Sea and Land Service; it being declared, that those who refused to assist the State with their Purses, should serve in Person, for the common Defence; and such Gentlemen of Quality as refused the Loan, were bound by Recognizance to appear before the Council, and upon their refusing to comply, were committed to Prison, and not admitted to be bailed on their bringing a *Habeas Corpus*; and it was look'd upon as a farther Hardship, that they were generally confined in Counties at a Distance from their Estates and usual Residence. Among these

People press'd and imprison'd, for refusing the Loan.

*A.D.*1626 — 2 *Car.* I.

were Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Yorkſhire*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* of *Eſſex*, Mr. *John Hampden* of *Bucks*, Sir *John Elliot* of *Cornwall*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction, who had been Members of the Commons; and Sir *Randolph Crew*, Lord chief Juſtice, who had ſhewn his diſlike at theſe Proceedings, was diſplaced, and Sir *Nicholas Hide* made Lord Chief Juſtice in his room: The Biſhop of *Lincoln* alſo incurred the Diſpleaſure of the Court, by oppoſing the Loan; upon whoſe Declenſion it is obſerved, that Biſhop *Laud* came into Favour, and was about this time tranſlated from St. *David*'s to the See of *Bath* and *Wells*, and made Dean of the Chapel to his Majeſty. The celebrated Sir *Francis Bacon*, who had long remained in Obſcurity, and was in a manner forgot, died this Year, in the Sixty-ſixth Year of his Age.

Bp. *Laud* advanc'd.

Death of the Lord *Bacon*.

Rapin's Remarks on the Beginning of this Reign conſider'd.

Before I conclude this Year, it may be proper to conſider ſome of *Rapin*'s Remarks on the Beginning of this Reign; and firſt he affirms in his 10th *Vol.* 8*vo.* (*Tindal*'s *Tranſlation*) That it was upon the wrong Information that Prince *Charles* and the Duke of *Bucks* gave the Parliament on the Prince's Return from *Spain*, that the Parliament was induced to break with that Kingdom, and promiſe King *James* to ſupport the War; whereas it is notorious, that the Parliament had urg'd King *James* ſeveral times before the Prince's Voyage to *Spain*, to break off the Match, and gives that King all imaginable Encouragement to make War with *Spain*; conſequently he was not induced to it by the Relation that was made of the Prince's Journey thither; and it is injurious to King *Charles*

Charles, to say he took Advantage of a Promise the Parliament had rashly made his Father, when it was done upon the greatest Deliberation, and been considered of many Years, and they had frequently renewed their Instances to King *James* to enter upon that War, for which not provding Supplies, they compelled King *Charles* to raise Money by those extraordinary Ways they complain'd of: This Prince rightly observ'd, they had drawn the Crown into a War, in order to reduce it to the last Necessity, and encroach on the Prerogative: There is no Colour to say, as *Rapin* does, *p.* 4. of the same Vol. That the King's Design was under Pretence of the *Necessity* of this War, to accustom the Commons to supply him with Money; for they themselves had often declared the *Necessity* of the War, insomuch that nothing gave King *James* more Uneasiness than their teazing him on this Subject. Besides, is it not evident to all the World, that the Expedition against *Spain* miscarried in the first Year of King *Charles*'s Reign; and that the King of *Denmark* and the Princes in Confederacy with *England*, were defeated and almost ruin'd the next Year by the Parliament's delaying their Supplies? Nor was there a Man in either House that ever pretended these Services ought not to be supported: Only the sagacious *Rapin* has discovered an hundred Years afterwards, that the War was *unnecessary*, and that the King only enter'd into it, *to use the Commons to raise him Money*; and it is expected that the Easiness of his *English* Readers will be such, that they will not fail to resign their Understandings to his Suggestions, how false and improbable soever.

A.D. 1626
2 *Car.* I.

*A.D.*1626

2 *Car.* I.

Rapin affirms falsely, that Bishop *Laud* crowned K. *Charles*, and not the Archbishop.

I should not take Notice of *Rapin*'s Assertion, *That Bishop* Laud *crowned King* Charles and that *Archbishop* Abbot *was not permitted to assist at the Coronation* (which is absolutely false) if he had not related it with a malicious Intent, to insinuate that the King hated him, because he was a Favourer of the *Puritans*. It is true *Laud* did supply the Place of Bishop *Williams*, Dean of *Westminster*, at the Coronation; but he did not officiate in the room of the Archbishop, as *Rapin* affirms. But to return.

*A.D.*1627

3 *Car.* I.

A Difference between the Courts of *England* and *France*.

There happened the following Year, a Misunderstanding between the Courts of *England* and *France*, occasion'd, as 'tis said, by the *French* King's employing the seven Ships that had been lent him for the *Spanish* War, against the Protestants of *Rochel*, and afterwards detaining them in the *French* Service, notwithstanding the Court of *England* demanded the Restitution of these Ships: The Duke as Admiral of *England*, took several *French* Merchant Ships by way of Reprizal, and the *French* on the other Hand, seized the Effects of the *English* Merchants in that Kingdom, to the Value of three hundred thousand Pounds: But these Matters seemed to have been accommodated to the mutual Satisfaction of both Nations, when on a sudden another Difference arose, occasion'd by the Insolence of the *Roman* Catholicks in the Queen's Family: Her Majesty by the Articles of Marriage, was allowed to have *Roman* Catholick Servants of her own Nation, with a Bishop and Priests, who were permitted to perform Divine Service publickly, after the Popish Way at *Somerset-House*, which was assign'd to

to the Queen for the Reſidence of her Majeſty and her Family. Theſe Prieſts were not content with what had been ſtipulated for them; but appeared Abroad in their proper Habits, endeavouring every where to make Proſelites to their Religion; till they had incurred his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, and were ſeverely reprehended by him for theſe Practices: However as they had engaged the Queen on their Side, they refuſed to deſiſt, till they occaſioned a Difference between their Majeſties, of which the King complained to the Court of *France*, and among other Inſtances he gave of the Inſolence of her Majeſty's Popiſh Servants, he repreſented, that her Prieſts had without his Knowledge, made the Queen walk to the common Gallows at *Tyburn* to pay her Devotions, ſeveral *Roman* Catholicks having been executed there for High Treaſon, whom the Papiſts ador'd as Saints and Martyrs. Upon theſe and the like Provocations, the King diſmiſſed no leſs than an hundred and twenty of the Queen's Retinue, firſt paying them their Salaries, to the Amount of 20,000 *l.* and upwards, and ſent them back to *France*, after which tis obſerv'd the Queen behav'd herſelf very dutifully to his Majeſty.

A.D. 1627
3 *Car.* I.

The Queen's popiſh Servants ſent home.

An Embaſſy being afterwards ſent to *France*, to excuſe the diſmiſſing of the Queen's Servants; the *French* King anſwer'd, he look'd upon it as a Breach of the Marriage Articles, and ſeized an hundred and twenty *Engliſh* Ships that were in his Ports. Whereupon a Declaration of War was publiſhed againſt *France* by the Duke of *Bucks*, who was conſtituted General, as well as Admiral, and to whoſe private Piques, the Lord *Clarendon*

Engliſh Ships ſeized in the Ports of *France*.

War declared againſt *France*.

*A.D.*1627 3 *Car.* I.

don and other Writers, generally aſcribe this War; intimating that the Miſunderſtanding between the two Courts would eaſily have been made up, if the two prime Miniſters *Buckingham* and *Richelieu* had not fomented them: But whatever were the real Grounds of the War, the Reaſons given for it in the Duke's Declation, were, 1. That the *Engliſh* Army under Count *Mansfield*, was not permitted to march thro' *France*, nor did they join their Troops with thoſe of *England*, according to the Treaty between the two Nations; whereby that Army was ruin'd, and the *Palatinate* loſt. 2. That the *French* King had fallen upon his Proteſtant Subjects, and block'd up their Towns, contrary to a Treaty he had made with them by the Mediation of *England*. And, 3. That the *French* King had, in time of full of Peace, ſeized upon the *Engliſh* Shiping in his Ports.

The *Engliſh* ſail to the Relief of *Rochelle*.

The War being declared, the Duke of *Buckingham* ſet ſail from *Portſmouth* on the 27th of *June*, with an hundred Sail of Ships, and ſeven or eight thouſand Landmen on board, accompanied by the Monſieur *Sobiez*, Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*, the Head of the Proteſtants in *France*: The Fleet arriving in the Harbour of *Rochelle* the latter end of *July*, the Duke let the Citizens know that he was come to their Relief; but the *Rochellers*, who had been long ſolliciting the Protection of the Court of *England*, now ſhut their Gates againſt the Duke, and would not ſuffer his Troops to Land; whereupon Sir *William Beecher* and Monſieur *Sobiez* went a-ſhore, and having with ſome Difficulty got Admittance into the Town, Sir *William* declared, that the King of *England* had ſent a power-

Are refuſed Admittance into the City.

ful

ful Fleet and Army to their Aſſiſtance; to compel the Performance of thoſe Articles made by the Mediation of *England*, on behalf of the Proteſtants of *France*, and if they refuſed the Deliverance that was offered them, he proteſted before God and Man, that the King his Maſter would look upon himſelf as diſcharged from all Engagements to protect them. *Sobiez* alſo, their Friend, whom they had employed at the Court of *England* to ſollicit this Relief, uſed all manner of Arguments to induce them to admit the *Engliſh* Troops, but to no Purpoſe; they pretended they could not take this Step without conſulting the reſt of their Proteſtant Brethren: Whereupon a Council of War was called on board the *Engliſh* Fleet, and it was reſolved to make a Deſcent on the Iſle of *Oleron*. *A.D.*1627 3 *Car.* I.

I could never meet with any tolerable Reaſon for this Conduct of the *Rochellers* (which proved their Ruin) unleſs it was their Apprehenſions that the Duke of *Bucks* was in his Heart a Papiſt, and would deliver the Town into the Hands of their Enemies, as ſome of their *puritanical* Brethren in *England* had ſuggeſted; but however that was, the Duke having met with this Repulſe at *Rochel*, afterwards made a Deſcent on the Iſle of *Rhee*, (contrary to the Advice of the Council of War, in which it was firſt reſolved, to land on the Iſle of *Oleron*, as has been intimated already.) Here the Duke having ſpent ſeveral Months in the Siege of the Caſtle of St. *Martha*'s, the *French* found Means to introduce an Army into the Iſland, equal, if not ſuperiour to the Duke's: Whereupon he was obliged in the Month of *November* to reimbark his Forces, after he had loſt two or three Thouſand Men,

A Deſcent on the Iſle of *Rhee*.

Unſucceſsful.

*A.D.*1627 and among them Sir *John Boroughs*, with several other Officers of Distinction, and return to *England*. The *Rochellers*, it seems, had altered their Minds when it was too late, and sent the Duke a Reinforcement to the Isle of *Rhee*; but the *French* King having had Time to assemble his Army first, the Opportunity was lost, and could never be retrieved; however, the Duke let the *Rochellers* know before he sailed for *England*, that he would encrease his Army, and come again to their Relief.

3 *Car.* I.

Which occasions great Murmurings.

This second unfortunate Expedition, sunk the Credit of the Court of *England* extremely. Not only the common People, but the Clergy in their Pulpits exclaimed against the Administration. It was said, we had needlessly provoked the two greatest Powers in *Europe*, lost the Flower of the Army, and exhausted the Treasury, and in these wretched Circumstances might naturally expect to be invaded in our Turns, and the War brought home to our own Doors, unless a Parliament was speedily call'd, and Measures taken for the Defence of the Kingdom. The general Discontent also was lengthened by the Clamours of the Sailors, who came in Crowds to Court, to petition for their Arrears; and the Loss of our Trade, on our breaking with *France* and *Spain*, which was but too visible, became another Subject of Complaint. The Favourite Duke was charged as the Author of all these, and the rest of the Peoples Grievances; among which the imprisoning several Gentlemen for refusing to pay the Loan was none of the least. Doctor *Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being not able to execute his Function personally at this time, the Bishop of *London*, the Bishop of *Bath*

The Archbishop's Authority transferr'd to other Bishops.

Bath and *Wells*, and three other Biſhops, were authorized to tranſact the Affairs of the Archbiſhoprick in his Head; at leaſt this was the Reaſon the Court aſſigned for ſuſpending his Grace, though his Friends gave out that it was his favouring the *Puritans*, and denying to licence Dr. *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, that occaſion'd his being diſmiſſed from Buſineſs. A.D. 1628 4 *Car.* I.

In the mean time the Court being determined to continue the War with *France*, the Council were buſied in finding out Ways and Means to ſupport it, and 'tis ſaid, call'd Sir *Robert Cotton*, the celebrated Antiquary, to the Board, to adviſe with him on this Head, not doubting but his Knowledge in Antiquity and Hiſtory, would furniſh them with ſome Hints for promoting the King's Service; but Sir *Robert* it ſeems, propoſed the calling of a Parliament, as the only poſſible Means of extricating his Majeſty and the Nation out of the Difficulties they laboured under, and accordingly a Parliament was ſummoned to meet at *Weſtminſter*, on the 17th of *March* following: All the Gentlemen who had been impriſoned for refuſing the Loan, to the Number of Seventy and upwards, being firſt order'd to be releaſed for the Satisfaction of the People; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* alſo was reſtored, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* and the Earl of *Briſtol* (who had incurred the King's Diſpleaſure) had their Writs ſent them to appear and ſit in the enſuing Parliament, which were refuſed them in the former: And although this Conduct was extremely grateful to the Nation, the King does not ſeem to have reaped any manner of Advantage from it; for thoſe very Gentlemen who had been impriſoned for not paying the Loan, and were

A third Parliament called. The Refuſers of the Loan ſet at Liberty. The Archbiſhop reſtored.

*A.D.*1628 become thereby the moſt inveterate Enemies
4 *Car.* I. to the Court, were almoſt every Man choſen into the Houſe of Commons, and raiſed ſuch a Spirit there as proved very prejudicial to his Majeſty's Affairs. The Nation was alſo alarmed at the King's remitting a Sum of Money to *Germany* for raiſing a thouſand Horſe, who were deſigned to conſtitute Part of an Army of Foreigners, by the Aſſiſtance of whom it was ſuggeſted, the King would deprive his Subjects of their Liberties, though theſe Troops were really intended to be imployed in Foreign Service: Such Jealouſies had the *Puritans* inſpired the People with, when the third Parliament of this Reign met.

The People alarm'd at the King's raiſing Foreign Troops.

The King in his Speech at the opening of the Parliament the 17th of *March*, told them, That theſe were Times for Action and not for Words, and therefore adviſed them to avoid long Debates, which might at this Juncture prove as hurtful as ill Reſolutions; That the common Danger was the Cauſe of aſſembling them, and a Supply the chief End of it: That if their Religion, Laws and Liberties, and the Defence of their Friends and Allies was not ſufficient to induce them to grant it, no Eloquence of Men or Angels could prevail: And if they ſhould not do their Duties in contributing what the Neceſſities of the State required, he muſt in diſcharge of his Conſcience, uſe thoſe other Means which God had put into his Hands, to ſave that which the Follies of particular Men might otherwiſe hazard.

The King's Speech at the opening this Parliament

That they ſhould not take this as a Threatning (for he ſcorn'd to threaten any but his Equals); but an Admonition from him who had the greateſt Concern for their Preſerva-

tion

tion and Prosperity, assuring them that nothing could be more pleasing to him, than to keep a good Correspondence with the Parliament; concluding, that he should be very ready to forgive what was past, so that they would leave the former Ways of Distraction, and follow the Counsel given them, (in Bishop *Laud*'s Sermon before the King and the two Houses) *To maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.* A.D. 1628 4 Car. I.

The Lord Keeper's Speech.

The Lord Keeper, *Coventry*, also made a Speech, wherein he gives the two Houses the then present State of *Europe*; representing, that the Pope and the House of *Austria*, had long affected, the one a Spiritual, the other a Temporal Monarchy, in which they endeavoured to serve each other. That the House of *Austria*, besides the rich and vast Territories of both the *Indies* and in *Africa*, were become Masters of *Spain*, (*Portugal*) *Italy* and *Germany*, and so influenced the Councils of *France*, under Pretence of Religion, that their King joined with them to root out the Protestant Religion there; insomuch that tho' the *French* King had bound himself by Treaty not to molest his Protestant Subjects, which his Majesty was bound to see accomplished; yet the *French* King had broken that Treaty, and reduced the Protestants there to the last Extremity, and they must undoubtedly be ruined without present Help.

The then State of *Europe*.

That the Powers which formerly ballanced and interrupted the growing Greatness of the House of *Austria* were now removed and diverted; the *Turk* had made Peace with the Emperor; the *Swede* was embroiled in a War with *Poland*; the King of *Denmark* chas'd out of his Kingdom, so that the House of *Au-*

A D. 1628 — 4 Car. I.

Auſtria was upon the point of commanding the *Sound*, with the Sea Coaſts from *Dantzick* to *Embden*; and all the Rivers falling into the Sea in that great Extent; by which Means they were become as powerful by Sea as by Land, and now threatned the entire Subverſion of our State. That the Trade to the *Baltick*, from whence we had our Naval Stores, would be loſt, and this would give the Enemy the Dominion of the Sea without fighting: While the *Dunkirkers* and the *French* and *Spaniſh* Admirals ſo infeſted our Coaſts, that the Fiſhery (of ſuch Conſequence to us and the Low Countries) was in a Manner ruined, and our Shipping could not paſs from Port to Port: And at the ſame time they ſaw a great Fleet aſſembling near *Portugal* and the Bay of *Biſcay*, which was undoubtedly intended for the Invaſion of *England* or *Ireland*, nor could we expect much Aſſiſtance from the Low Countries, who were now engaged in ſettling their Colonies in the *Eaſt Indies*, which drained them both of Men and Money.

He ſaid, he ſpoke not this to encreaſe their Fear, unworthy of *Engliſh* Courage, but to preſs them to make Proviſion worthy the Wiſdom of a Parliament, that they might ſtrengthen themſelves at home, and encourage their Friends and Allies abroad, whereby thoſe great Cauſes of Fear would be ſcatter'd and diſpelled.

He adviſes them therefore to grant large and ſpeedy Supplies, and to which he ſaid they were in a Manner obliged by a Parliamentary Compact. They had adviſed the War, and even proteſted they would ſupport it. The King on his Part had ſet them an Example, not having ſpared his Lands, his Plate or Jewels in the Cauſe.

The

The Diſtreſſes of their Friends was another Argument made Uſe of to incite them to open their Purſes, for theſe he ſaid both Honour and Intereſt required they ſhould not abandon; that his Majeſty choſe this way of raiſing Supplies by conſent of Parliament, as moſt agreeable to his People, not that he was deſtitute of *others*, and if theſe were deferred, *Neceſſity and the Sword of the Enemy would oblige him to make Uſe of others*; exhorting them to remember his Majeſty's Admonition. *A.D.* 1628 — 4 *Car.* I.

He adviſed them alſo, to avoid Diſcontents and Diviſions, and attend that *Unum Neceſſarium*, the Common Cauſe, propounding in all their Debates the general Good of the King and Kingdom, whom God had joined together with an indiſſoluble Knot; and exhorted them to behave themſelves ſo as to make his Majeſty delight in frequent Parliaments, aſſuring them that he was ready to baniſh out of his Memory all thoſe Diſtaſtes that had troubled former Parliaments; and concluded, that if their Supplies were not timely and ſufficient, their Counſels and Aids would all be loſt. If their Aids were either too little or too late, his Majeſty's Affairs would not permit him to expect them long.

The Commons, notwithſtanding theſe Speeches, and the King's preſſing Neceſſities, reſolved not to grant any Supplies, till their Grievances were redreſs'd; among which ſome of the Principal were the Billiting of Soldiers, the raiſing Money by Way of Loan, the impriſoning Perſons for refuſing it, and not admitting them to Bail on their bringing a *Habeas Corpus*. Several warm Speeches being made upon theſe Heads, Sir *Francis Seymour*, among

The Commons fall upon their Grievances.

*A.D.*1628 4 *Car.* I. among other things, said, *How can we think of giving Subsidies till we know we have any Thing to give? Have we not been told from the Pulpit that all we have is the King's?* Sir *Thomas Wentworth* (afterwards Earl of *Strafford*) said that these things were not to be ascribed to the King, but to his Ministers; that they had brought the Crown into greater Want than ever, by anticipating the Revenues of the Crown, and introduced a Privy Council, that had ravished at once the Spheres of all antient Government, imprisoning them without Bail or Mainprize. *They have taken from us what? What shall I say indeed? What have they left us?* All Means of supplying the King and ingratiating ourselves with him are defeated, by derstoying the Root of all, *Our Properties.* Sir *Robert Philips* in his Speech on this Subject, cry'd out, *O improvident Ancestors, to be so careful in providing for the quiet Possession of our Lands, and to neglect our Persons, to let us die remediless in Prisons! If this be Law, what do we talk of our Liberties? What may a Man call his, if not Liberty*, &c.

Some Endeavours to moderate Matters.

Sir *Benjamin Rudiyard* on the other hand, endeavoured to moderate their Debates; he observed, *That this was the Crisis when they would know whether Parliaments were to live or die*; he advised them therefore, *To trust his Majesty, and breed a Confidence in him, by giving largely according to his Wants, and afterwards humbly prostrate their Grievances at his Feet.* Secretary *Coke* said, *They were all as Inhabitants of one House, where every one ought to amend something; but if all the House was on Fire would they then amuse themselves with Amendments, and not rather endeavour to quench the Flame,*

Flame; *he confeſſed ſome illegal Courſes had been taken, ſome Exceſſes of Power exerciſed, but theſe were occaſioned by the Neceſſities of the Times, and ſhould be redreſſed*; *but to inſiſt upon their Grievances before they went on the Supply, was to put Conditions on his Majeſty, who was a wiſe Prince, and jealous of his Honour.* But a Majority of the Houſe being ſtill of Opinion their Grievances ought to be firſt conſidered, the Commons came to the following Reſolutions, 1. That no Freeman ought to be impriſoned without Cauſe ſhewn. 2. That an *Habeas Corpus* ought not to be deny'd him. And 3. That if no Cauſe of his Commitment was ſpecified, he ought to be bailed or diſcharged; they alſo reſolved that no Tax of what Kind ſoever, ought to be levied on the Subject without the Conſent of Parliament. The Lords and Commons alſo agreed on an Addreſs to the King, for putting the Laws in Execution againſt Popiſh Recuſants, to which his Majeſty agreed; declaring that his Indulgence towards thoſe of the Popiſh Religion, had been in hopes that Popiſh Princes would have uſed the like Moderation towards their Proteſtant Subjects; but not finding the Fruits he expected, he was reſolved to comply with their Addreſs.

Reſolution of the Commons, in Relation to Liberty and Taxes.

The King having ſent the Commons frequent Meſſages to haſten the Supply, they voted at length five Subſidies, which was taken extremely well by the Court; inſomuch that the Duke of *Bucks* in one of his Speeches on that Subject, ſaid, *That now the Commons ought to be the King's Favourites and not himſelf*; and Secretary *Coke* obſerv'd in the Houſe, that though five Subſidies were inferior to the King's Wants, yet as his Majeſty diſcovered the Af-

The Commons vote five Subſidies.

A.D. 1628. 4 *Car.* I.

fections of his People in this Gift, he could not put too great a Value upon it; but as this Supply was propoſed with a View of getting their Rights and Liberties confirmed, the Commons before they proceeded further in it, drew up a Petition to his Majeſty, that the Laws might be duly obſerved for the future, and no Taxes levied but by conſent of Parliament, to which they gave the Title of THE PETITION OF RIGHT; in preſenting of which the Houſe of Lords concurred with them.

The Petition of Right.

In this Petition they recite, that it had been declared by a Statute made in the Reign of King *Edward* I. called the Statute *De Tallagio non concedendo*; that no Talliage or Aid ſhould be levied without Conſent of Parliament; and by a Statute of the 25th of *Ed.* III. That no Perſon ſhould be compelled to make any Loan againſt his Will, or charg'd to pay any Benevolence; and by another Statute, that no Subject ſhould be compelled to pay any Tax, Talliage or Aid, without Conſent of Parliament: Notwithſtanding which, ſeveral Perſons had been required to lend his Majeſty divers Sums of Money, others ſummoned before the Council, and impriſoned for their Refuſal, and ſeveral other Charges had been levied on the People by the Command of his Majeſty, or the Privy Council: And it is further recited, that by the great Charter and other Statutes, no Freeman might be diſſeized of his Lands or Liberties, but by the Law of the Land; and that nevertheleſs many of the King's Subjects had been of late impriſoned without any Cauſe ſhewn, and refuſed to be bailed on their bringing Writs of *Habeas Corpus*: They recite further, that Soldiers

diers and Mariners had been quarter'd upon the King's Subjects againſt their Will, and that Perſons had been try'd and condemn'd by Martial Law, who ought to have had the Benefit of the Laws of the Land. *A.D.*1628 4 *Car.* I.

They do therefore humbly pray, That no Man hereafter, be compelled to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or ſuch like Charge, without common conſent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make Anſwer, or take an Oath, or to give Attendance, or be confin'd, or otherwiſe moleſted, or diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for Refuſal thereof; and that no Freeman in any ſuch Manner as is before mentioned, be impriſoned or detained; And that your Majeſty wou'd be pleaſed to remove the ſaid Soldiers and Mariners, and that your People may not be ſo burthened in time to come; and that the foreſaid Commiſſions for proceeding by Martial Law may be revok'd and annulled; and that hereafter no Commiſſions of like Nature may iſſue forth to any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, to be executed as aforeſaid, leſt by Colour of them any of your Majeſty's Subjects be deſtroyed or put to Death, contrary to the Laws and Franchiſe of the Land.

All which they moſt humbly pray of your moſt excellent Majeſty, as their Rights and Liberties according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and that your Majeſty would alſo vouchafe to declare, that the Awards, Doings and Proceedings to the Prejudice of your People in any of the Premiſes, ſhall not be drawn hereafter into Conſequence or Example. And that your Majeſty would be alſo graciouſly pleaſed, for the further Comfort and Safety of your People, to declare your Roy-

A.D. 1628 4 *Car.* I.

al Will and Pleasure, that in the things aforesaid, all your Officers and Ministers shall serve you according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as they tender the Honour of your Majesty and the Prosperity of this Kingdom. To which his Majesty answered,

The King willeth that Right be done, according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and that the Statutes be put in due Execution, that his Subjects may have no Cause to complain of any Wrong or Oppressions, contrary to their just Rights and Liberties, to the Preservation whereof he holds himself in Conscience, as well obliged as of his Prerogative.

The Commons unsatisfied with the King's Answer to the Petition of Right.

Upon reading of the King's Answer in the House of Commons, Sir *John Elliot* insinuated, that it was evasive and unsatisfactory; and proposed the drawing up a Remonstrance of their Grievances, among which Dr. *Manwaring*'s Sermon already mentioned was none of the least; nor would they be satisfied till the Lords had passed the following Sentence upon the Doctor, (*viz.*) that he should be imprisoned, fined a thousand Pounds, be suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio* for three Years, that his Books should be all burnt, and that he should make a publick Acknowledgement of his Faults at the Bar of the House.

Dr. *Manwaring*'s Sentence for asserting the King's Power for raising Money without a Parliament

In the mean time the King sent two Messages to the House, to dispatch the Business before them, and not spend their time in aspersing his Ministry, intimating that he shou'd put an end to the Session on the eleventh Instant: This Message alarmed the Commons extremely, and Sir *John Elliot* began to make some severe Reflections on it; whereupon the Speaker

Speaker said, there was a Command laid upon him not to suffer them to proceed in this Manner, after which there was a profound Silence, till Sir *Nathaniel Rich* stood up and said, *We must speak now, or for ever hold our Peace.* And when some suggested, that Sir *John Ellot*'s former Speeches probably had given his Majesty Offence, the House came to a Resolution, that every Member was free from any undutiful Speech, from the Beginning of the Parliament to that Day; and the House was immediately turn'd into a Grand Committe, to consider of the Safety of the Nation, no Man being suffered to go out of the House unless the Speaker: In this Committee several Members charged the Duke of *Bucks* with being the Author of all their Grievances, which they were putting to the Vote, when the Speaker return'd with a Message from the King, that his Majesty commanded them to adjourn till the next Morning, and that in the mean time all Committees should cease, and the House adjourn'd accordingly, as did also the House of Lords upon the like Intimation.

*A.D.*1628
4 *Car.* I.

The Commons alarm'd at the Kings Message that he would dissolve the Parliament They justifie all their Members.

Charge the Duke of *Bucks* as the Author of all their Grievances

They are adjourned by the King's Command

The next Morning the King sent another Message to the Commons by their Speaker, assuring them, that he never intended to bar them of their Rights, but to avoid all scandalous Reflections on his past Councils and Actions; with which they were far from being satisfied, for they addres's'd his Majesty in Conjunction with the Lords, for a clear and satisfactory Answer to their Petition of Right. Whereupon his Majesty came to the House of Peers on the seventh of *June*, and the Petition being again presented to him, his Majesty answered in a Parliamentary Way,

The Addres's for a full Aaswer to the Petition of Right.

Soit

*A.D.*1628 4 *Car.* I.

Soit Droit fait Comme il eſt deſire : Which his Majeſty obſerv'd was a full Anſwer, and yet no more than he had granted them in his firſt Anſwer ; for the Meaning of that was to confirm their Liberties, knowing according to their own Proteſtations, that they neither meant nor could hurt his Prerogative ; adding, that as he had ſhewn his Readineſs to ſatisfy their Demands, if this Parliament had not a happy Concluſion, the Sin muſt be theirs.

The King anſwers the Petition as they deſired.

Upon the paſſing of the Petition of Right the Commons ſhouted for Joy, the Bells were rung, and Bonfires made in the City, and every where there appeared an uncommon Satisfaction, to find the King and the two Houſes agreed ; and at the Suit of the Lords, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Warwick* and *Briſtol*, with the Lord *Say*, were reſtored to Favour and permitted to kiſs the King's Hand.

Which occaſions much Joy.

The Lords in Diſgrace reſtored to Favour.

But when it was imagined all Differences had been compoſed, ſome of the Commons appeared ſo far from being ſatisfied, that they made his Majeſty's Conceſſions an Argument of preſſing him ſtill farther ; accordingly they drew the Houſe into another Remonſtrance, wherein they repreſent to his Majeſty, that both the Church and Commonwealth were ſtill in apparent Danger of being deſtroyed, the Laws not being put in Execution againſt Roman Catholicks ; many of whom were in great Favour at Court, and particularly the Counteſs of *Buckingham*, by whoſe Protection their Numbers, Power and Inſolence encreaſed in all Parts of the Kingdom. Nor were they leſs concerned to ſee the Growth of *Arminianiſm* encouraged by Doctor *Neale*, Biſhop

The Commons ſtill ſhew themſelves diſcontented.

Frame a peeviſh Remonſtrance.

ſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; declaring that the Profeſſors of ſuch Opinions, though Proteſtants in Shew, were in reality Jeſuits: They recommend it therefore to the King, to prefer and encourage painful orthodox Preachers (the *Puritan* Tribe) who were, they apprehended, too much diſcountenanced. A.D. 1628 — 4 Car. I.

Then they remind the King of the illegal Methods that had been formerly taken, to raiſe Money by way of Loan, the Danger the Nation was in by keeping the Army on Foot, the Terror they were under from his Majeſty's entertaining *German Troops* in his Service; the Illegality of his Majeſty's taking Tonnage and Poundage, the Miſcarriages of the Iſle of *Rhee*, the Want of warlike Stores, and the Weakneſs of his Majeſty's Forts and Garriſons, with the Deſtruction of Trade by the *French* and *Spaniſh* Privateers, and the Loſs of the Sovereignity of the Narrow Seas; the principal Cauſe of all which Evils, they conceived to be the exceſſive Power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Abuſe of that Power; ſubmitting it to his Majeſty's Wiſdom, whether it was ſafe for himſelf or his Kingdoms, that ſo great a Power as was repoſited in him by Sea and Land, ſhould be in the Hands of any one Subject whatever; intimating that they could not be ſatisfied while he remained in Poſſeſſion of the great Offices he enjoyed, and was admitted to his Majeſty's Councils.

They ſtrike chiefly at the Duke of *Bucks.*

The King having heard the Remonſtrance read, told the Commons, *He little expected ſuch a Remonſtrance after he had paſs'd their Petition of Right.* The ſame Day the Commons ſent up the Bill of Subſidies to the Lords, and not long after they received a Meſ-

The King's Anſwer to the Remonſtrance.

A.D. 1628 Meſſage from the King, that he intended to put an End to the Seſſion on the 26th Inſtant, (*June*) which the Commons had no ſooner Notice of, but they ſet about framing another Remonſtrance, againſt his Majeſty's taking Tonnage and Poundage; wherein they beſeech him to forbear receiving it, and that he would not take it ill if his Subjects refuſed to pay Tonnage and Poundage for the future. They tell him indeed, that they intended to prepare a Bill to empower his Majeſty to receive it if they had been permitted to ſit longer; but as it was evident they deſigned to clog the Bill with many Reſtrictions and to continue theſe Duties but from Year to Year (whereas his Predeceſſors had enjoyed them for Life) his Majeſty gave no Encouragement to the paſſing the Bill propoſed: And in order to prevent the Commons preſenting their ſecond Remonſtrance, came to the Houſe ſooner than they expected, and put an End to the Seſſion of Parliament; having firſt made a Speech to both Houſes, wherein he tells them he had not, by paſſing the Petition of Right granted them any new, but only confirmed their antient Rights and Liberties: And as for Tonnage and Poundage, it was a thing he could not want. It was never intended to be asked by them in that Petition, nor did he ever intend to part with it; of which he directed the Judges to take Notice.

4 *Car.* I.

They frame another Remonſtrance againſt the King's taking Tonnage and Poundage.

The King's Speech concerning the Petition of Right and Tonnage.

In this Parliament paſſed an Act for confirming five Subſidies given by the Clergy, and another Act, whereby the Laiety alſo granted five Subſidies, the reſt of the Acts of this Seſſion will be found at the End of the Reign.

The Acts of Subſidies paſs'd Parliament prorogued.

During

During this Seſſions of Parliament, *viz.* about the middle of *April*, the King ſent a Fleet under the command of the Earl of *Denbigh* to the Relief of *Rochelle*; but the Earl finding the Mouth of the Harbour fortified by the Enemy, ſo that there was no approaching the Town, and a Fleet of *French* and *Spainards* ſuperior to the *Engliſh* that cover'd the Enemies Works, he was oblig'd to return to *England*, without giving the *Rochellers* any Aſſiſtance. Whereupon the Duke of *Bucks* looking upon his Honour to be concern'd, and imagining he ſhould never recover the Eſteem of the People unleſs he could find means to relieve *Rochelle* (with his Majeſty's Concurrence, who was no leſs zealous to ſupport the Proteſtant Intereſt in *France*) prepar'd a larger Fleet than ever, on which a Land Army was to have been embark'd; but while the Duke was buſy at *Portſmouth* in making Proviſion for this Expedition, he was aſſaſſinated, being Stabb'd to the Heart with a Knife, by one *Felton*, a diſcarded Lieutenant, and a notable *Enthuſiaſt*, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, to which, it ſeems, the Villain had a double Inducement; firſt, to revenge himſelf on the Duke, for not giving him a Captain's Commiſſion he expected; and ſecondly, to deliver his Brethern the Puritans, from their great Enemy the Duke: The Wretch believing he had done God and his Country great Service by this Murder, never offer'd to make his Eſcape, but triumphed in the bloody Fact, of which the Reader will find a particular Account in the Lord *Clarendon*.

*A.D.*1628
4 *Car.* I.

Another Fleet ſent to the Relief of *Rochelle*.

The Duke of *Bucks* prepares to go to the Relief of *Rochelle* in Perſon.

He is ſtabb'd by *Felton*.

*A.D.*1628

4 *Car.* I.

The Earl of *Lindſey* endeavours in vain to relieve *Rochelle.*

Notwithſtanding the Duke's Death, the King order'd the Fleet to ſet Sail for *Rochelle* under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*, on the eighth of *September*, who finding a vaſt Wall erected at the Mouth of the Harbour, and all the Shore cover'd with Troops, and Batteries raiſed at every Place where there was any poſſibility of Landing, the Earl after ſome brave Attempts to force a Paſſage to the Town, was oblig'd to be a Witneſs of its Surrender: However, by the Countenance the *Britiſh* Fleet afforded them, they obtain'd better Terms than they could otherwiſe have expected, their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates being granted them by the Articles of Surrender; but of this and the former Expeditions for the Relief of *Rochelle*, the Reader will meet with a more particular Relation in the *Modern Hiſtory* of *France*, Vol. XII. Page 229. where the Conduct of the King of *England* and his Prime Miniſter the Duke are ſufficiently vindicated as to the ſeveral Attempts they made for the Relief of *Rochelle.*

But how juſtifiable ſoever the Duke's Conduct might be in relation to the *French* War, the Commons having declar'd him the Author of all their Grievances, it appears he was generally look'd upon with an evil Eye, and the People had not ſpar'd to expreſs their Deteſtation of every one who had any Relation to him. Dr. *Lamb*, who was ſuppos'd to be a Creature of the Duke's, tho' he had very little Acquaintance with him, was aſſaulted in the Streets of *London*, and murder'd by the furious Multitude; ſome of them crying out they would have done as much by his Maſter, if they had met with him; for which Outrage

rage the City was fin'd five thousand Pounds, and threatned with the Loss of their Charter, if they did not discover and deliver up the Murderers; which is supposed to have contributed to the setting the City against the Court. The King however did several popular Acts at this time to reconcile the Nation to him, as the suppressing Dr. *Manwaring*'s Sermons by Proclamation, and putting the Laws in Execution against Priests and Jesuits. On the other hand, the People were disgusted at the Imprisonment of some Merchants for refusing to pay the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, and the preferring Sir *Richard Weston* to be Lord Treasurer, whom they suspected to be Popishly affected, tho' he was not a known Papist, as *Rapin* falsely avers; for he conform'd to the Rites of the Church at that time, and took the usual Oaths.

A.D. 1628
4 *Car.* I.

The City find for Dr. *Lamb*'s Murder.

Some popular Acts.

Weston made Lord Treasurer.

The Parliament having been prorogu'd from time to time, met on the 20th of *January*; the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, who appears to have had the greatest Share in the Administration after the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, having in the mean time endeavour'd to bring over some of the leading Men in the House of Commons to the King's Interest, and was so happy as to prevail on the celebrated Sir *Thomas Wentworth* (afterwards Earl of *Strafford*) to come into the Measures of the Court; and Sir *Thomas* was thereupon call'd to the Council Board, and made Lord President of the North, about which time he entred into a strict Friendship with Bishop *Laud*.

Sir *Thomas Wentworth* comes over to the Court.

It was expected now the Duke of *Bucks*, the great Object of the People's Fury, was dead, there would have been a good Under-

The Parliament meets.

*A.D.*1629. 4 *Car.* I. ſtanding between the King and the Houſe of Commons; but they were no ſooner aſſembled, than they fell upon the Illegality of the King's receiving Tonnage and Poundage, and grew extremely Clamorous on that Head; whereupon his Majeſty, directed both Houſes to attend him at *Whitehall*, and in a ſet Speech, aſſured them that it was not his Intention to challenge Tonnage and Poundage as his Right, but that he took it only *de bene eſſe*, for the neceſſary Support of the Government, till it was granted him by Parliament; and as they had now an Opportunity of preparing a Bill for that Purpoſe, he expected they would do it without loſs of time, according to the Profeſſions they had frequently made of their Readineſs to gratifie him in this Particular.

The King deſires they would ſettle Tonnage and Poundage on him.

But the Houſe inſtead of going upon the Bill of Tonnage, were reſolv'd to proceed; firſt, in their Grievances, eſpecially thoſe relating to Religion, among which the growth of *Arminianiſm*, as they call'd it, was one of the Chief; though the Points they were pleas'd to call *Arminianiſm*, were really then the Doctrines of the Church of *England* as they are at this Day, *viz.* 1. That God does not in an arbitrary manner Decree or Predeſtinate any Perſon to be ſav'd or damn'd. 2. That Chriſt dy'd for all Men, all are Partakers of the Benefits of Chriſt's Paſſion, who ſincerely perform the Goſpel Terms of Faith and Repentance. 3. That how neceſſary ſoever Grace may be towards the doing of Good Actions, it is not irreſiſtable, or in other Words, *That Man is a free Agent*; from whence it is evident, that a Spirit of *Calviniſm* then reign'd in the Houſe of Commons, and govern'd moſt of their Debates: Nay, they

The Commons go upon their Religious Grievances, eſpecially *Arminianiſm*.

The Doctrines they ſtill'd ſo

were

were ready to sacrifice the Peace of the Kingdom, and every thing else, rather than these Opinions should prevail. The Doctrine of *Free Will* was as odious to them as Popery; and sometimes went under that Name amongst them: We find Bishop *Laud* and others stil'd Papists for no other Reason, but their asserting the Freedom of the Human Mind. But to proceed, *A.D.* 1629 / 4 *Car.* I.

The King having declar'd, that the Interpretation of the Articles of the Church of *England* belong'd properly to the Bishops and Clergy, and not to the Commons, That Incendiary *Elliot* cry'd out in one of his Speeches, *Our Faith and Religion are in Danger by the King's Declaration; Popery and Arminianism, like an Inundation, are breaking in upon us; for ought I know they may be introduc'd by the Clergy; we see some of our Bishops are not Orthodox, or sound in Religion.* This was smartly said by a Man that could not be suppos'd to have a grain of Religion or Morality; I have already taken Notice of his treacherously stabbing a neighbouring Gentleman while he was drinking a Glass of Wine: The great Advocate of the Puritans appears at last to have been a villainous Assassin, and he might not be an improper Instrument to promote such a Religion as Countenances Treason and Rebellion: He work'd the House up to such a pitch at this time by his pretended Zeal for Religion, that they made the following extraordinary Protest, *We the Commons in Parliament assembled do Claim, Protest and Avow for Truth the Sense of the Articles of Religion which were establish'd by Parliament in the* 13*th of Queen* Elizabeth; *which by the publick Act of the Church of* England, *and by the general*

They Vote Religion to be in Danger.

Their Protest thereupon.

A.D 1629 — 4 Car. I.

general and concurrent Expoſitions of the Writers of our Church hath been deliver'd unto us; And we reject the Senſe of the Jeſuits and Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us. After which they perſuaded the Houſe of Peers to join with them in an Addreſs to the King for a Faſt, in Conſideration of the Miſeries of the Reform'd Churches Abroad. To which his Majeſty anſwer'd, that Fighting would do them more good than Faſting; and tho' he granted their Requeſt, he let them know, that it ſhould not be made a Precedent for frequent Faſts.

They Petition for a Faſt

Still the Commons refus'd to go upon the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, and Mr. *Rolls*, one of their Members, who had refus'd the Payment of it, being by a Miſtake ſerv'd with a *Subpœna*, they were all in a Flame; tho' the Attorney General diſclaim'd the Thing, and aſſur'd them it happen'd thro' Inadvertency; they would not be pacified, but proceeded to ſend the Sheriff of *London* to the Tower, for ſeizing the Goods of one *Chambers*, who refus'd to pay the King's Duties.

They ſend the Sheriff of *London* to the Tower.

Then they fell upon their Religious Grievances again; and the Bookſellers of *London* were ſpirited up to preſent a Petition to the Houſe, complaining they were reſtrain'd from printing Books againſt Popery and Arminianiſm, while Books written in Defence of theſe Doctrines were licens'd by Biſhop *Laud*. Complaint alſo was made, That ſeveral Popiſh Prieſts who had been apprehended were not condemn'd and executed, and of the great Reſort to the Popiſh Chapel at *Somerſet* Houſe; and that great Numbers of the King's Subjects were brought up in Popiſh Semina-

Complaint of the encreaſe of Popery and *Arminianiſm*.

ries

ries Abroad. The Attorney General took upon him to ſhew, that theſe Complaints were very unjuſt, and that the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants were executed as ſtrictly at this Time as in any preceding Reign. But this however would give them no Satisfaction: The Cry of the *Danger of Religion* continued as loud as ever, and was artfully encouraged by the Faction, in order to render the Breach between the King and the Houſe wider. *A.D.* 1629 — 4 *Car.* I.

They call the Officers of the Cuſtoms to Account.

They proceeded to call ſeveral of the Officers of the Cuſtoms before them, for ſeizing the Goods of Mr. *Rolls*, their Member, for the Tonnage Duty; and when the King ſent them a Meſſage, that the Officers had acted by his expreſs Orders, they cry'd out *Adjourn*, *Adjourn*, breaking up in a tumultuous manman. When they met again two or three Days after, *Elliot* ſaid, *he found the Lord Treaſurer* Weſton *was building on the Foundation laid by his Maſter the Duke, That the Miniſters were for breaking Parliaments, leſt Parliaments ſhould break them; and that all Jeſuits, Prieſts and Papiſts were protected by the Treaſurer.* Soon after which the Speaker deliver'd a Meſſage from his Majeſty, commanding them to adjourn the Houſe. Whereupon *Elliot* offer'd a Remonſtrance againſt Tonnage and Poundage; and when the Speaker refus'd to read it, Sir *Miles Hobart*, another Member, lock'd the Door of the Houſe, and took away the Key. *Coriton*, a fiery Member, aſſaulted and ſtruck Mr. *Winterton*, who was for obeying his Majeſty's Command; Sir *John Elliot* read the Remonſtrance himſelf, and the Speaker was urg'd by Mr. *Selden* and others, to put the Queſtion; but

A Tumult in the Houſe of Commons.

*A.D.*1629 — 4 *Car.* I.

but he anſwer'd, he was expreſly commanded by his Majeſty to riſe as ſoon as he had deliver'd the aboveſaid Meſſage, and accordingly left the Chair; but Mr. *Denzil Holles*, Mr. *Valentine*, and others pull'd him back again, and held him in the Chair by Force; and when ſome of the Privy Council endeavour'd to releaſe the Speaker, *Holles* ſwore *By God's Wounds, he ſhould not ſtir ſtill they gave him leave to riſe*; and proceeded to read the following Proteſt, *viz.* 1. *Whoever ſhall bring in Innovation in Religion; or by Favour ſeek to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianiſm, or other Opinions diſagreeing from the True and Orthodox Church, ſhall be reputed a Capital Enemy to the Kingdom and Common Wealth.* 2. *Whoever ſhall Counſel or Adviſe the taking and levying the Subſides of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or ſhall be an Actor or Inſtrument therein, ſhall be reputed an Innovator in the Government, and a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Common Wealth.* 3. *If any Merchant or Perſon whatſoever ſhall voluntarily yield or pay the Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage not being granted by Parliament, he ſhall likewiſe be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of* England, *and an Enemy to the ſame.*

A Proteſt of the Commons

They detain the Serjeant.

The King being inform'd of the tumultuous Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons ſent a Meſſenger for the Serjeant and his Mace which being taken off the Table, would have prevented their ſitting any longer. But they kept the Serjeant lock'd in, and would not ſuffer him to attend his Majeſty. Then he ſent the Uſher of the Black Rod to diſſolve them, but they would not admit him, or receive his Meſſage. Whereupon the King ſent for the

Ban

Band of Penſioners, and the Guards, with a Deſign to have forc'd an Entrance; but the Commons were ſo wiſe as to riſe ſuddenly, and prevent Things being brought to this Extremity, having firſt adjourn'd themſelves to the Tenth of *March*. A.D. 1629. 4 *Car.* I.

They refuſe to admit the Black Rod.

The King coming to the Houſe of Peers on the Day the Commons were adjourned to, made a Speech, wherein he ſays, he never came thither upon ſo unpleaſant an Occaſion, it being to diſſolve the Parliament. Declaring that it was merely the unditiful and ſeditious Carriage of the Lower Houſe that had cauſed this Diſſolution, though he did not judge all that Houſe alike guilty. But there were ſome few Vipers among them, who caſt this Miſt of Undutifulneſs over moſt of their Eyes; and as theſe muſt look for Puniſhment, their Lordſhips might juſtly expect from him that Favour and Protection that a good King ow'd to his loving and faithful Nobility.

The King's Speech to the Lords, on diſſolving the Parliament.

After which the Lord Keeper diſſolved the Parliament; there being but few of the Commons preſent, as his Majeſty had not thought fit to command the Attendance of that Houſe; and Warrants being iſſued out for the apprehending the Principal Authors of the Riot and Tumult that had been made in the Houſe of Commons, *(viz.)* Sir *John Elliot*, *Denzil Hollis*, *John Selden*, Sir *Miles Hobart*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, *William Coriton*, *Walter Long*, *Benjamin Valentine* and *William Stroud*; four of them, *viz. Holles*, *Elliot*, *Coriton* and *Valentine*, were brought before the Council, and refuſing to anſwer for what had been done in Parliament, were thereupon committed to the Tower.

The Mutinous Members impriſon'd.

A.D. 1629 — 4 Car. I.

Upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament and impriſonment of theſe Members, the Faction endeavoured to revenge themſelves on the Government, by ſcurrilous Libels; but the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, and Biſhop *Laud*, were the principal Objects of their Fury; they even threatned the Biſhop to aſſaſſinate him in theſe Libels, of which he ſeems to have been apprehenſive, by ſome Paſſages in his Diary that was afterwards publiſhed.

The King declares his Reaſons for diſſolving the Parliament taking Tonnage, &c.

The King, to appeaſe the Murmurs of the People, publiſhed a Declaration, wherein he took Notice of the ſeditious Behaviour of ſome Incendiaries among the Commons that had compelled him to diſſolve the Parliament. And as to his taking Tonnage and Poundage, that had been ſo violently exclaimed againſt, he ſhewed that his Predeceſſors had conſtantly received thoſe Duties on their Acceſſion, till they were granted by Parliament (and that in times of Peace) for the ordinary Guard of the Seas: Whereas his Majeſty found the Nation engaged in a War, and without the Receipt of theſe Revenues the Government could not poſſibly have been ſupported. He obſerved alſo, that the Commons had taken upon them to enquire into the Debates at the Council-Board, to threaten the Courts of Juſtice and great Officers of State, and to aſperſe his whole Adminiſtration, in order to incite the People to an Inſurrection: For the Duke of *Bucks*, whom they pretended to be the Author of their Grievances, being dead, they continued ſtill to complain of his Miniſters, endeavouring to wound him through their Sides; tho' he did not impute theſe Diſorders to the whole Houſe, but to ſome ſeditious Members, who were perpetually ſtarting new Grievances to keep

keep up the Spirit of Faction, and render themſelves conſiderable. He declared, he was determined to manitain the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects. He deſired they would reflect on their own Happineſs, and conſider if there was any Nation under Heaven where the Chriſtian Religion flouriſhed more, where Juſtice was more duly adminiſtred, and the People remained free from Oppreſſion, every Man ſetting in Peace and Quietneſs under his own Vine and Fig-tree. *A.D.* 1629 — 5 *Car.* I.

The Reaſons the King had given in his Declaration for the diſſolving the late Parliament were far from ſatisfying the People, they ſtill appeared diſaffected to a great Degree; and it was given out, that his Majeſty would ſoon be under a Neceſſity of calling another. Upon which Report a ſecond Proclamation was iſſued, wherein the King declared he had ſufficiently ſhewn his Love to Parliaments, by his frequent aſſembling them, yet the late Abuſes had driven him unwillingly out of that Courſe, *and he ſhould eſteem it a Preſumption in any one to preſcribe any time for his calling a Parliament.* From which Words ſome inferred there were no more Parliaments to be expected: And 'tis evident, his Majeſty had no Intention to aſſemble one ſuddenly, by the Haſte the Miniſtry made to clap up a Peace both with *France* and *Spain*, in Order to leſſen the Expences of the Government. That with *France* was declared on the 10th of *May*, and a Peace with *Spain* was concluded the Year following, both of them upon advantageous Terms to *England*.

A Proclamation, forbidding the People to fix a time for calling a Parliament.

A Peace with *France* and *Spain*.

And now the Judges having delivered their Opinions unanimouſly, *That Members of Parlia-*

*A.D.*1629 5 *Car.* I.

Sir *John Elliot*, and the seditious Members profecuted.

liament committing Offences againſt the King and Council, and ſlandering the Adminiſtration with a ſeditious Intent, (though done in Parliament) were puniſhable out of Parliament; an Information was exhibited in the Star Chamber, againſt Sir *John Elliot*, *Denzil Hollis*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *Walter Long*, *William Corriton*, *William Strode*, *John Selden*, Sir *Miles Hobart* and Sir *Peter Hayman*, for their undutiful Speeches and Actions in the Houſe of Commons. Theſe Gentlemen having brought Writs of *Habeas Corpus* in *Trinity-Term*, moved to be admitted to Bail, but it was determined they could not, as their Commitment was ſpecial: however, the following *Michaelmas-Term* the Judges with his Majeſty's Concurrence offered to accept Bail, and diſmiſs them from their Confinement, provided they gave Security for their good Behaviour; but they were now grown ſo ſullen, that they refuſed the Favour and returned to Priſon: Whereupon the King eraſed the Proſecution in the Star Chamber, and the ſame Term ordered an Information to be exhibited in the King's Bench, (that they might have a fair Trial at Common Law) againſt Sir *John Elliot*, *Denzil Hollis*, and Sir *Benjamin Valentine*, in which it was ſet forth, that Sir *John Elliot*, intending to ſow and excite Sedition and Diſcord, between the King, his Peers, and People, to ſubvert the Government, and introduce Confuſion, in order to withdraw the Affections of the King's Subjects from him, on the 23*d* of *February*, 4 *Car.* in the Hearing of the Commons, falſely, maliciouſly and ſeditiouſly uſed theſe Words, *The King's Privy Council, his Judges, and his Counſel learned have conſpired together, to trample under their Feet*

They refuſe to give Security for their good Behaviour.

An Information in the King's Bench againſt 3 of the Members. For Seditious Speeches.

Feet the Liberties of the Subjects of this Realm, and the Liberties of this House. The other two Defendants are charged with speaking the same Words: And it is further charged, that the 2 *March* 4 *Car.* the three Defendants maliciously agreed and conspired, to disturb and distract the Commons, that they should not adjourn themselves according to the King's Pleasure signified to them; that they assaulted Sir *John Finch* the Speaker, dragg'd him to the Chair, and by Force detained him in it, which occasioned a great Tumult and Commotion in the House, to the Terror of the Commons there assembled, and the Disherison of the King, *&c.*

And a Riot in the House.

The Defendants pleaded to the Jurisdiction of the Court, because the Offences supposed to be done were committed in Parliament; whereupon the Attorney General demurr'd to their Plea, and a Day was given to argue the Demurrer the next *Hilary Term*, when the Judges having heard Council on both Sides, unanimously resolved, *That the Court as this Case was should have Jurisdiction, although these Offences were committed in Parliament; and that the imprisoned Members ought to answer.*

They plead to the Jurisdiction of the Court.

The Defendants still refusing to put in any other Plea than to the Jurisdiction of the Court, Judgment was given against them upon a *Nihil dicit*, on the last Day of *Hilary Term*, being pronounced by Mr. Justice *Jones* in Manner following, *(viz)* 'The Matter of 'the Information by the Confession (the De- 'murrer) of the Defendants is admitted to be 'true, and we think their Plea to the Juris- 'diction sufficient for the Matter and Manner 'of it. We will not draw the true Liberties 'of Parliament Men into question, namely,

Judgment against them.

'for

A.D.1630 — 5 Car. I.

'for such Matters as they speak or do in a 'Parliamentary way; but here was a Con- 'spiracy between the Defendants to slander 'the State, and to raise Sedition and Discord 'between the King, his Peers and People: 'And this was not a Parliamentary Course. 'The Parliament is a High Court, and 'therefore ought not to be disorderly, but 'to give good Examples to other Courts. If 'a Judge of our Court shall rail on the State 'of the Clergy, he is punishable for it. A 'Member of Parliament may charge any 'great Officer of State with any *particular* 'Offence; but this was a malevolous Accusa- 'tion *in the Generality of all the Officers of* 'State; therefore the Matter contained in 'the Information is a great Offence, and pu- 'nishable in this Court; however, the Punish- 'ment shall be with a light Hand in this Man- 'ner:

'1. Every Defendant shall be imprisoned 'during the King's Pleasure; Sir *John Elliot* 'to be imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, 'and the other Defendants in other Prisons.

2. 'That none of them shall be delivered 'out of Prison, until he give Security in this 'Court for his good Behaviour, and have 'made Submission and Acknowledgment of 'his Offence.

3. 'Sir *John Elliot*, inasmuch as we think 'him the greatest Offender, shall pay a Fine 'to the King of 2000 *l.* Mr. *Hollis* a Fine 'of 1000 Marks, and Mr. *Valentine*, because 'he is of less Ability, 500 *l.* to which all the 'other Justices agreed.'

Bp. *Laud* chosen Chancellor of *Oxford*.

The Earl of *Pembroke* Lord High Steward of the King's Household, and Chancellor of *Oxford*, dying this Year, that University made

made Choice of Biſhop *Laud* for their Chancellor; a Prelate, as a modern Writer juſtly obſerves, who became the moſt celebrated Patron of Learning, and the greateſt Benefactor to all publick Deſigns, for the promoting Piety and Charity that that Age produced; nor is it any Reflection on his Memory, that *Rapin* and the reſt of the *Puritan* Tribe did not like him. They muſt natural have been his Enemies, as he conſtantly oppoſed their Schemes for deſtroying the Church, which they had great Hopes of effecting about this time, having poiſoned the People with Levelling Pamphlets both in Church and State: We find one Doctor *Leighton*, a *Scotch* Clergyman, publiſhed a ſeditious Libel this Year, which he entitled, *An Appeal to the Parliament againſt Prelacy*; in which were ſeveral Paſſages, which both the Lord Chief Juſtices affirm'd, wou'd have amounted to High Treaſon, if he had been try'd in the Courts of Common Law; but it was thought fit however to ſpare his Life, and cenſure him only in the Star-Chamber, where he was adjudged to be impriſoned during the King's Pleaſure, to pay a Fine of ten thouſand Pounds, to be twice ſet in the Pillory, and whipp'd as often; to have his Ears cut off, his Noſe ſlit, and his Face branded with a hot Iron: Though 'tis probable the Court did not intend to have executed this Sentence upon him, if he would have made the leaſt Submiſſion; but the Criminal ſhewing no Inclination that Way, and committing a new Offence, by breaking out of Priſon, was retaken, and the Sentence executed upon him with ſome Rigour, five Months after it was pronounced, which created ill natured Reflections

A.D. 1630
5 *Car.* I.

His Character.

The Reaſon the *Puritans* hate him.

Dr. *Leighton* puniſh'd for a Libel on the Government.

*A.D.*1630 5 *Car.* I. flections on the Government; for though the Offender had in reality merited Death, his Crimes were in a Manner forgot, and the dreadful Puniſhment abhorred by the common People, who not conſidering what the Criminal had done, were mov'd to pity him, and the more, as they were taught by the *Puritans* to look upon him as a Sufferer for Religion.

Money rais'd by extraordinary Ways

But what gave the People the greateſt Diſguſt for the Government was, the raiſing of Money by ſeveral Ways, which were look'd upon as illegal: Even the taking the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage gave greater Offence than formerly, as the Commons had voted and proteſted that they ought not to be collected but by Authority of Parliament, eſpecially as the Rates upon Goods imported and exported was raiſed about this time; the reviving the Law alſo to compel thoſe who were poſſeſs'd of Lands of the Value of forty Pounds *per Annum*, to be Knighted or compound with the Crown, was look'd upon as another hard and ungrateful Tax; as were the Patents for monopolizing ſeveral ſorts of Goods, amongſt which, *Ruſhworth* in his Preface to his Second Volume enumerates theſe, for the ſole vending of Soap, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Coal, Cards, Pins, and even the ſole gathering of Rags; but theſe it appears were granted to ſeveral Companies or Corporations, and not to ſingle Men, neither were they impoſed all in one Year, though mentioned by *Ruſhworth* together; Money was alſo raiſed by levying Fines upon ſuch Offenders as had been guilty of Depopulations, Nuſances in Building and Encroachments on Foreſts, for which they were obliged to compound with the King's Commiſſioners.

But

A.D. 1630
6 Car. I.

But all these Taxes were raised for the *necessary* Support of the Government, which it was said could not possibly subsist without, since the Parliament had refused to furnish the Crown with those Supplies which they had never denied his Predecessors; and it must be acknowledged, that nothing but *the last Necessity* could justify the imposing them. The King found a formidable Party of *Puritans* and *Republicans* in the Nation, and even in the House of Commons, who were determined to subvert the Government in Church and State, and who for that Reason refused him all manner of Supplies, and he had no way to preserve himself and the State but by these Means. It was evident to all the World, that the Faction would be content with nothing less than the Destruction of the Monarchy, and the established Religion, and tho' there was a very great Majority in the House, fast Friends to both, yet they were so terrified by the hypocritical Pretences of the *Puritans* amongst them, with the Dangers of *Popery* and *Arminianism*, and arbitrary Power, said to be the Consequence of those Opinions; that they brought many honest well meaning Men into their Measures, and had the Parliament been permitted to sit, the Year thirty-one might have been as fatal to the Constitution as that of forty-one; but further, it is not pretended by any, that the Money the King raised by the Ways above-mentioned, was with a covetous View of hoarding up a vast Treasure, or to enrich his Favourites; it was all laid out in encreasing the Royal Navy, protecting Foreign Trade, or the maintenance of the Civil List: The King also appears very far from any Inclination to arbitrary

Necessity put the King upon raising Money by these Means.

A.D. 1632 Measures in any other Instances; Self-Preservation alone put him upon these. We find Sir *Henry Martyn*, a Judge of the Admiralty, complained, that the Judges of the King's Bench granted Prohibitions to their Proceedings in the Court of Admiralty, and the Judges justified their Conduct as agreeable to Law; the King acquiesced in the Determination of the Judges of the King's Bench, though contrary to his own Opinion, and to the Disadvantage of his Prerogative. And when Mr. *Huntley*, a *Kentish* Clergyman, who was censured and imprisoned by the High Commission Court, brought his Action at Law against two of the High Commissioners, and the King required the Judges not to proceed in the Cause till he had spoken with them, and afterwards in Person commanded the Judges not to put the Commissioners to Answer; yet having heard the Judges Reasons for their Proceeding, and their Representation, that they could not obey him without a Breach of their Oaths, he was contented that the Commissioners should Answer, and it was resolved at the Council Board, that the Judges had done their Duty. These and several other Instances of the like Nature, shew that King *Charles* was far from carrying his Prerogative so high as either *Henry* VIII. or Q. *Elizabeth*: Had the Judges in those Reigns, pretended to have questioned the Authority of the High Commission Court, they would soon have been made sensible of their Rashness; and as a late Writer observes further, this also demonstrates, that the Judges in King *Charles's* Reign were no servile Creatures, as *Rapin* and the *Puritan* Tribe insinuate; but gave their Opinions with Freedom and Courage,

6 *Car.* I.

Instances of the Regard King *Charles* had to the Laws in other Cases.

Hen. VIII. & Q. *Eliz.* had not the same Regard to them.

Courage, to which indeed they were induced, by obſerving that the King was generally governed by their Deciſions, though contrary to his own Judgment and Intereſt. *A.D.* 1630 — 6 *Car.* I.

On the twenty-ninth of *May* this Year, the Queen was delivered of a ſecond Son, who ſucceeded his Father on the Throne: The King going to St. *Paul*'s the ſame Day to give Thanks for the Birth of this Son, a bright Star appeared, which was taken Notice of both by the Court and City, and looked upon as a good Omen of the Prince's future Greatneſs. The Royal Infant was baptized by the Name of *Charles*, on the 27th of *June*, by Dr. *Laud* Biſhop of *London*; the *French* King and the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, his Uncles, being Godfathers, and the Queen Mother of *France*, Godmother. The ſame Day the Prince was born, a great Trial came on in the Court of *Star-Chamber*, upon an Information preferred by Mr. Attorney General, againſt the Earls of *Bedford*, *Clare* and *Somerſet*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. St. *John*, and others, for diſperſing a Libel publiſhed on the riſing of the laſt Parliament, entitled *A Propoſition for his Majeſty's Service, to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments*: In which the Libellers endeavour to alienate the People from his Majeſty, by inſinuating he intended to govern Arbitrarily: While this Cauſe was hearing, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Lord Keeper and the reſt of the Judges of the Court of *Star-Chamber*, importing, that in Regard of the great Joy upon the Birth of his Son, all Proceedings upon this Information ſhould be ſtopped, and the Defendants diſcharged: However the Libel was ordered to be burnt, as a

K. *Ch.* II. born.

An Information in the *Star-Chamber* againſt the Earls of *Bedford*, &c. for diſperſing a Libel.

The Offence forgiven.

*A.D.*1630 seditious and scandalous Paper. It may be seen at large, both in *Nelson* and *Rushworth*.

6 *Car.* I.

The Peace with *Spain* being concluded in *November* this Year, as that with *France* had been the Year preceding; Trade flourished in *England* to a very great degree, and *London* became the common Mart of *Europe*; 'tis related that no less than six hundred thousand Crowns in Bullion, were annually imported from *Spain*, after the Conclusion of this Peace, and coined in the Tower, Returns for it being made to *Flanders*, and other Countries under the Dominion of *Spain*, in *English* Cloth. Thus was the Nation bless'd with Peace and Plenty, while other Parts of *Europe* suffered the Miseries of War, and the Calamities usually attending it; for it was at this time that the brave *Gustavus Adolphus*, observing the Distresses the *German* Princes were reduced to by the Emperor, especially the Protestants, came to their Assistance with a powerful Army, having first entred into an Alliance with the King of *England*, who suffered Duke *Hamilton* to raise a Body of six thousand Men, and transport to the *Baltick*, designing they should have joined the *Swedish* Army; but while they were quartered in *Pomerania*, there happened that memorable Battel near *Leipsick*, between the King of *Sweden* and Count *Tilly*, the Imperial General, wherein the latter was defeated, on which Success the *Swede* was so elated, that he slighted his Confederates the *English*, and when King *Charles* insisted on his restoring the Elector Palatine, he refused to attempt it, but upon such hard Conditions the King of *England* did not think it for the Honour of the Elector to comply with: Whereupon Duke *Ha-*

The flourishing Condition of the Nation.

*A.D.*1631

Gustavus Adolphus invades *Germany*. The Marquis of *Hamilton* and 6000 Men sent to assist him.

Hamilton and his Troops, as well as Sir *Henry Vane* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in the *Swediſh* Camp, were ordered to return Home. A.D.1631 7 *Car.* I.

The Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s being fallen to decay, was about this time nobly repaired and beautified, towards which Doctor *Laud* Biſhop of the Dioceſe, was one of the principal Contributors, as well as the chief Director of the Work, which was afterwards looked upon as ſuch an Offence by the *Puritans*, that they made it one Article of his Impeachment; the King himſelf alſo, to encourage ſo pious a Deſign, contributed ten thouſand Pounds, and by his Example others were induced to bring in above an hundred thouſand Pounds more. St. *Paul*'s repaired. 100,000 *l.* contributed towards it.

There were ſome remarkable Trials happened about the ſame time, particularly that of *Mervin* Lord *Audley*, for aſſiſting one of his Servants to commit a Rape upon his own Wife, and for Sodomy with two of them, of which he was convicted by the Verdict of his Peers, condemned and executed on *Tower-Hill*, having no other Favour ſhewn him by the King, who deteſted his Crimes, than changing his Sentence from that of Hanging to Beheading; but I muſt refer the Reader to the firſt Volume of *State Trials*, for the Particulars. Ld. *Audley* convicted of Sodomy and aſſiſting one to raviſh his Lady.

Another Proceeding that made a great Noiſe, was that againſt Sir *Giles Arlington*, who was proſecuted in the High Commiſſion Court for marrying his Neice; and thereupon apply'd to the Court of Common Pleas for a Prohibition, which that Court declared themſelves ready to grant; but the King interpoſing, the High Commiſſion were ſuffered to proceed, and fin'd Sir *Giles* twelve thouſand Sir *Giles Arlington* fin'd 12,000 *l.* for marrying his Niece.

A.D. 1631 7 *Car.* I.

ſand Pounds, obliging him alſo to give twenty thouſand Pounds Security, not to cohabit with his Niece for the future.

A Trial by Combat appointed between *Rea* and *Ramſey*.

There was a 3d remarkable Trial appointed by a Court of Chivalry, on the following Occaſion; the Marquis of *Hamilton* had been charged with treaſonable Deſigns againſt his Majeſty, and the Lord *Rea* a Baron of *Scotland*, had accuſed *Ramſey*, a Gentleman of the ſame Nation, with endeavouring to engage him in the Conſpiracy; but *Ramſey* denying any Knowledge of the Plot, and there being no Witneſs to prove it, *Ramſey* offered to fight *Rea*, according to the Laws of Chivalry; which Challenge being accepted, every thing was prepared for the Combat; but the King abhorring this barbarous Way of deciding Cauſes, would not ſuffer the Parties to engage: And it appears that his Majeſty was ſo far from ſuſpecting *Hamilton* to have any Deſign againſt him, that he ordered him to lie in his Chamber, that very Night he received Notice of the Conſpiracy; and the Duke continued in Favour with this Prince to the laſt, who truſted him with the Direction of the Affairs of *Scotland*, and ſcarce tranſacted any thing with Relation to *England* or *Ireland* without conſulting him.

The Marquis of *Hamilton* charged with being in a Plot, but the King gives no Credit to it.

Mary Pr. of *Orange* born.

On the fourth of *November* this Year, the Queen was delivered of a Daughter, baptized by the Name of *Mary*, afterwards married to *William* of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*: And this Year died that celebrated Antiquary Sir *Robert Cotton*, who obliged the World with thoſe notable Collections of Records and Original Papers in the *Cotton* Library, now united to the Royal Library at *Weſtminſter*.

Sir *Rob. Cotton*'s Death.

The

The King of *Sweden* having extended his Conqueſt over great Part of *Germany*, was killed at the Battle of *Lutzen* on the ſixth of *November*; his Army however obtained the Victory, and drove the Imperialiſts out of the Field. This great Prince, 'tis obſerv'd, had within the Space of two Years reduced near three hundred Cities and Fortreſſes in *Germany*, and had he lived a little longer, would have ſhaken the Imperial Throne; however, as it was, his Expedition was of infinite Service to the Proteſtants of the Empire, who had probably been extirpated if they had not been taken under the Protection of the great *Guſtavus Adolphus*. At that critical Juncture *Frederick* Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, who bore the Title of King of *Bohemia*, died alſo on the 29th of *November*, the ſame Month in which the King of *Sweden* was killed: He had Iſſue by the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Siſter of King *Charles*, ſix Sons and five Daughters, on the youngeſt of which Daughters, the Princeſs *Sophia*, then about two Years of Age, and her Proteſtant Iſſue, the Crown of *England* was ſettled by Act of Parliament, in the Reign of *William* III. from which Princeſs his preſent Majeſty King *George* II. is deſcended; and conſequently is of the Race of the *Stuarts*, notwithſtanding ſome vile Scriblers of the preſent Age, abſurdly hope to recommend themſelves to the Government by defaming this illuſtrious Family.

A.D. 1632 — 7 *Car.* I.

Guſtavus Adolphus killed.

The Prince Palatine dies.

His Iſſue by the Princeſs *Elizabeth*.

The preſent King of the *Stuarts* Family.

The Czar of *Muſcovy* being at War with the King of *Poland*, apply'd himſelf to the Court of *England* about this time, for Leave to raiſe two thouſand Men in *Great-Britain*, which was granted him, and thoſe Troops were accordingly ſent to *Muſcovy*, and employed

Troops ſent to the Aſſiſtance of *Muſcovy*

*A.D.*1632 ployed by the *Ruſſians* in the Siege of *Smolenſko*, where there happening a Miſunderſtanding between Colonel *Sanders*, who commanded them, and Colonel *Leſly* a *Scot*, *Sanders* was baſely murdered by Leſly, for which the latter was put to Death by the *Muſcovites* whereupon the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, inſtead of promoting the Service they were ſent upon fell out among themſelves, and while the *Ruſſians* were engaged in ſuppreſſing the Tumult, the *Poles* attacked their Army, and obliged them to raiſe the Siege.

7 *Car.* I.

Lord *Wentworth* made Deputy of *Ireland*.

The Affairs of *Ireland* were in great Confuſion at this time, occaſioned by the Power and Inſolence of the *Roman* Catholicks in that Kingdom, who had the Aſſurance to erect a Popiſh Univerſity in *Dublin*, in Oppoſition to the King's College, near that City; whereupon his Majeſty thought fit to conſtitute the Lord Viſcount *Wentworth* Deputy of *Ireland*, having had Experience of this Gentleman's admirable Conduct in the North of *England*, of which he was Lord Preſident; nor was the King deceived in his Expectation, for though the Deputy found things in great Diſorder, he ſoon reduced them to a ſettled State, and *Ireland*, which hitherto had been a Charge and Burthen to the Crown of *England*, by the Encouragement he gave their Trade and Manufactures, was ſoon in a Condition to ſupport it ſelf, and afford *England* Supplies.

Improves that Kingdom.

Perſons of Quality required to leave *London*.

The King obſerving the great Reſort of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry, to the Court and City, whereby the Country was in a manner deſerted, and the antient Hoſpitality neglected, iſſued out a Proclamation on the ſeventh of *June*, that they ſhould retire to their

their usual Places of Residence; but another principal Motive to the publishing this Proclamation was, lest the Pestilence should be again brought into the City, of which the Country was not yet quite free: And for the same Reason another Proclamation was issued prohibiting the Resort of People to Court in that hot Season, to be cured of the King's Evil. The latter end of this Year his Majesty was taken ill of the *Small-Pox*; but had so favourable a sort that he soon recovered.

A.D. 1632
8 *Car.* I.

The King has the *Small-Pox*

Bishop *Laud*, in whom his Majesty principally confided in Ecclesiastical Affairs, was busied at this time in protecting the established Church against the Assaults both of *Papists* and *Puritans*, who were labouring to destroy her. As this Prelate was himself fully convinced of the Freedom of the human Mind, and detested these absurd Doctrines, of unconditional Decrees, which make Man a mere Machine, and afford him no Liberty of Choice, he appeared a great Encourager of those who in their Writings and Sermons asserted the Doctrine of Free Will; for which the *Puritans* frequently stiled him an *Arminian*, and sometimes a *Papist*. However, this great Man proceeded according to his Judgment, preferring those who were Advocates for Free Will, as Dr. *Neile* Bishop of *Winchester*, to the Archbishoprick of *York*; Doctor *Pierce* to the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*; and others of the like Persuasion to other Bishopricks and Preferments in the Church; particularly Doctor *Juxon*, who was about this time made Clerk of the King's Closet; and by Bishop *Laud*'s Recommendation it seems, Mr. *Francis Windebank*, of whom he had conceived a high Opinion, was unhappily made

Bp. *Laud* treated as a *Papist* and *Arminian*, for maintaining Free Will.

*A.D.*1632 Secretary of State (on the Death of Sir *Dudley Carlton*) for this Gentleman, influenced by the Queen, became the Protector of such Priests and popish Recusants as incurred the Penalty of the Laws, and was thereupon looked upon as a Papist in his Heart, and all his Miscarriages ascribed to Bishop *Laud*, who advanced him.

8 *Car.* I.

And here I must not pass by the dismal Lamentations of the *Puritans* and their Advocates (the Authors of *Rapin*) upon Bishop *Laud*'s Attempts to depress their Faction, and advance the Interests of the establish'd Church: They tell us that Doctor *Laud* and the Bishops he preferred, insinuated to his Majesty, that nothing was more opposite to Royal Authority than Presbyterian Church Government (and the Event shews that the Bishops were not mistaken) adding, that the Government had no manner of Regard to scrupulous Consciences; but on the contrary every thing that gave most Offence to the Presbyterians, was not only industriously practised, but made necessary; and several new things added which were apt to widen the Breach, and make a Union with them impracticable; and to prove their Assertion, they recite on this Occasion the Story found in *Rushworth* of *Sherfields* breaking down a Window of painted Glass in a Church at *Salisbury* by his own Authority, because it had the History of the Creation in it, for which *Sherfield* was fined 500 *l.* in the Star-Chamber. *Rapin Tindal*'s *Translation*, *Vol.* 10. *Pag.* 258, 259 *& seq.*

Sherfield prosecuted for breaking the Church-Windows.

In Answer to this Lamentation, I shall take leave to transcribe Mr. *Nalson*'s Characte

o

of the *Puritans* of thoſe Days, as we find it in his *Preface*, *pag.* 52. *A.D.*1632 8 *Car.* I.

A Character of the *Puritans*.

'He ſays, during the peaceful Reign of 'King *James*, till towards the latter end, 'they had not the Opportunity of doing 'the Miſchiefs they intended; but ſtill they 'went on proſelyting People daily to their 'Way, and inſinuating into their Minds the 'Horrors and Fears of a Relapſe into Popery, 'by reaſon of the near Vicinity of the Eccle-'ſiaſtical Government to the Practice of the 'Roman Church; and the People having 'once drunk of this intoxicating Cup of *Fears* 'and *Jealouſies*, all things ſeem'd to turn 'round with them, as if they were returning 'to that Place.

'But all this while they were not idle, tho' 'they appeared indifferently quiet: For it was 'the daily Induſtry of the Non-Conformiſts 'to ſtrengthen their Party, eſpecially among 'the Nobility and Gentry, the Cities and 'Boroughs, that ſo they might get a Parlia-'mentary Aſſiſtance, and effect their Deſigns 'by the ſeeming Countenance of Authority; 'and indeed the pretended Sanctity of 'their Lives, their outward Fierceneſs againſt 'Popery, their unwearied Diligence in 'Preaching, and as they call'd it *Preaching* 'the *Goſpel*, and for a thorough *Reformation*; 'though the greateſt Part of that was ſpeak-'ing Evil of Dignities, accuſing and calum-'niating the Biſhops and Hierarchy, the Litur-'gy, Ceremonies, Veſtments, and decent Or-'ders of the Church as guilty of Popery and 'Superſtition, quarrelling about Pluralities 'and Non-Reſidence, *&c.* yet by theſe Arts 'they had gain'd ſo great an Aſcendant upon 'the Peoples Affections, that they began to

*A.D.*1632 8 *Car.* I.

'frame the House of Commons, or at least 'a Party in it, with whom fell in all the Dis- 'contented and popular Men, and gave con- 'tinual Interruptions to the Parliamentary 'Affairs.

'The unfortunate Wars of *Bohemia* and 'the *Palatinate*, together with the fruitless 'Treaty of the Match with *Spain*, and 'several Transactions therein, gave them 'Opportunity, and furnished them with new 'Matter to complain of the Danger of Po- 'pery, with which they still inflamed the Peo- 'ple, not only now against the Church, but 'the Court; and finding the Necessities of 'the Crown to be very great, by the extra- 'ordinary Expences upon those Occasions, 'they did not fail to lay hold upon them; 'and by keeping off Supplies, they endea- 'voured to starve the Crown into a Compo- 'sition with them, and to exchange Prero- 'gative for Money, and the Government of 'Episcopacy for the *Geneva* Reformation. 'But to proceed,

*A.D.*1633 9 *Car.* I.

The King being at Peace with all the Princes and States in *Europe*, and not yet apprehensive of any civil Commotions at Home, that he might not seem to neglect his antient Kingdom of *Scotland*, determined this Year to be solemnly crowned there: The *Scottish* Nation he observed were discontented upon many Accounts; they had indeed enjoyed great Peace and Plenty by the Indulgence of King *James* for upwards of forty Years; but the Seat of the Government was now removed, the King and Court always resided in *England*, and they were in a manner become a Province, to a Nation with which they

The *Scots* discontented.

they had long contended for an Independency. A.D. 1633 9 Car. I.

Another Reaſon aſſigned for their Diſſatisfaction is, the Endeavours of the Court to remove thoſe Lands from the Nobility which formerly belonged to the Church, and had been ſeized by them during the Minority of King *James*, by the Connivance of Earl *Murray* and other Regents; tho' they were by Act of Parliament transferred to the Crown at the Reformation. The Nobility in order to prevent the King's reſuming theſe Lands, pretended that there was a Deſign to reſtore Popery, and joyning with that *puritanical* Kirk in their Cries againſt Epiſcopacy, were reſolved to throw all things into Confuſion, rather than part with the Church-Lands they were poſſeſſed of; and this was in Reality the Source of that Rebellion that afterwards happened in *Scotland*. But to enlarge a little further on the Situation of Affairs in *Scotland*.

The State of the Church of *Scotland*.

The Church of *Scotland* was at the Reformation, *An.* 1560, governed firſt by Superintendants, and then by Biſhops, and ſo it remained till the Year 1580; when in an Aſſembly held at *Dundee*, Epiſcopacy was declared to be contrary to the Word of God, and Presbytery eſtabliſhed in a tumultuous Manner. In 1592 the Faction prevailed ſo far, as to get it approved and confirmed by Authority; but King *James* VI. finding the Presbytery ever encroaching on his Prerogatives, and aſſuming an Authority over the Civil Powers, found an Opportunity of getting Epiſcopacy reſtored by the Legiſlature, *An.* 1612, and nominated thirteen Biſhops for the thirteen Biſhopricks there had antiently been in that Church. He alſo made ſome Ad-

*A.D.*1633 Advances towards bringing the Church of
9 *Car.* I. *Scotland* to a Conformity with that of *England*; particularly he paſs'd an Act in the Parliament of *Aberdeen* for the compoſing a Liturgy, and in another at *Perth* paſs'd an Act for eſtabliſhing the five following Articles, commonly called the Articles of *Perth*, (*viz.*) 1. Kneeling at the Sacrament. 2. Private Communion in Caſes of Neceſſity. 3. Private Baptiſm in the like Caſe. 4. Confirmation, and 5. The Obſervation of *Chriſtmas*; the Feſtivals of the Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of our Saviour, and Pentecoſt.

The King goes to *Scotland* to be Crown'd

This was the State of the Church of *Scotland*, when King *Charles* propoſed the viſiting that Kingdom, in order to his Coronation: He ſet out from *White-Hall* the 13th of *May*, 1633; attended by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, *Holland*, and Doctor *Laud*, Biſhop of *London*; beſides theſe the Marquis of *Hamilton* and ſeveral of the *Scotch* Nobility, with many other Perſons of Diſtinction, followed the Court at their own Expences. The King and Court were magnificently entertain'd as they paſs'd, by the Nobility and Perſons of Diſtinction whoſe Seats lay near the Northern Road: and the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, that the greateſt Exceſs in Feaſting was now introduced that had ever been known; which was afterwards kept up, to the great Damage of the Eſtates and Manners of the Nation. There was alſo a kind of Emulation between the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Courtiers, who ſhould appear in the greateſt Splendor in their Equipages, which ran moſt of them in Debt, and rendered them uneaſy in their Circumſtances.

The

The King arriving on the Borders of *Scotland* on the twelfth of *June*, the *Engliſh* Officers reſigned their Places, which were ſupply'd by thoſe of *Scotland*, and on the fifteenth of *June* his Majeſty made a moſt ſplendid Entry into his Capital City of *Edinburgh*, amidſt the loud Acclamations of the People; three Days after which the King was Crown'd by Doctor *Spotſwood* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*. *A.D.* 1633 — 9 *Car.* I.

The Parliament met on the 20*th* Inſtant, to whom the King made a Speech, and the Seſſion continued eight Days, in which there paſs'd thirty-one Publick Acts, two of them for Supplies, which were granted readily; but there were two other Acts that met with great Oppoſition, *viz.* An Act for confirming his Majeſty's Prerogatives, and empowering him to appoint the Habits of the Clergy; and another for rectifying the Acts concerning Religion; and a Libel was ſoon after diſperſed charging his Majeſty with over-awing the Parliament in order to get theſe Acts paſs'd. The Lord *Balmerino*, as the Author or Fomenter of it, was convicted of High Treaſon by the Laws of *Scotland*; and though he was afterwards pardoned, on the great Profeſſions he made of his Loyalty, it is obſerved, he ever after remained an implacable Enemy to the Government. There were ſome other Acts which the King paſſed in the Parliament of *Scotland* that leſſened the Authority of the Lords, and freed their Tenants from that ſervile Subjection they had hitherto laboured under; which gave the Nobility ſtill a greater Diſguſt to the Government, and contributed to the Troubles that happened afterwards. But what diſturb'd the *Scots* more than any thing was, an Apprehenſion that their Religion was about to be al- A Parliament held in *Scotland*.

*A.D.*1633 — 9 *Car.* I.

alter'd, occaſioned by the King's erecting a Biſhoprick at *Edinburgh*, making ſeveral of the Biſhops Miniſters of State, and ordering a Liturgy to be compoſed for the Church of *Scotland*. But whatever Averſion the *Scots* might have entertained for the Adminiſtration in their Hearts, they did not think fit to diſcover their Diſaffection at this time: The King was every where received with all imaginable Reſpect in the Counties he viſited while he was there. He returned to *Greenwich* the twentieth of *July*, having rid Poſt in four Days from *Berwick*, probably to avoid putting the Country to the like Expence they were at to entertain him in his Journey to *Scotland*, when he travelled with the Equipage of a great King by eaſy Stages.

The King returns to *England*.

Archbiſhop *Abbot* dying ſoon after the King's Return, *viz.* on the 4th of *Auguſt*, Doctor *Laud* Biſhop of *London* ſucceeded him in the See of *Canterbury*. My Lord *Clarendon* has given us the Character of both theſe Metropolitans, and of Doctor *Bancroft* who preceded *Abbot*; to whom therefore I refer the Reader, and ſhall only mention ſo much of them as may be neceſſary to clear up this Part of our Hiſtory. Biſhop *Laud*, the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, had been recommended by the Duke of *Buckingham* to the King, as fitteſt to be truſted in conferring all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, when he was but Biſhop of St. *David*'s, and from that time entirely governed that Province without a Rival: He was a Man of great Parts and exemplary Virtue; but too much addicted to Paſſion and a Sharpneſs of Expreſſion; he was malign'd and perſecuted by the *Calvinian* Faction, who according to their uſual Practice call every Man

Dr. *Laud* made A Bp. of *Canterbury*.

His Character.

Man they do not love Papiſt, and under that ſenſeleſs Appellation created him many Troubles and Vexations, and ſo far ſuppreſs'd him, that though he was King's Chaplain, an excellent Preacher, and a Scholar of the moſt ſublime Parts, he could get no Preferment till the Vigour of his Age was paſt; and it may be, adds the ſame noble Writer, when he came into great Authority, he retained too keen a Memory of thoſe who had ſo unjuſtly and uncharitably perſecuted him. He had from his firſt Entrance into the World, without any Diſguiſe or Diſſimulation, declared his own Opinion of that Claſſis of Men, and as ſoon as it was in his Power, he did all he could to hinder the Growth and Encreaſe of that Faction, and to reſtrain thoſe who were inclined to it from doing Miſchief; but his Power at Court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult Reformation, while he had a Superior in the Church, *(Abbot)* who having the Reins in his Hands, could ſlacken them according to his own Humour and Indiſcretion; but now he had the Primary in his own Hand, the King being inſpired with the ſame Zeal, he thought he ſhould be to blame, and have much to anſwer for, if he did not make Haſte to apply Remedies to thoſe Diſeaſes which he ſaw would grow apace. *A D.* 1633. 9 *Car.* I.

Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Character.

Archbiſhop *Abbot*, according to Lord *Clarendon*, had too many Years poſſeſſed the See of *Canterbury*, being totally ignorant of the true Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the State and Intereſt of the Clergy, as appeared throughout the whole Courſe of his Life: He was promoted to the See of *Canterbury* upon the never enough lamented Death

*A.D.*1633 of Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, who underſtood the Church excellently well, and had almoſt reſcued it out of the Hands of the *Calvinian* Party, and very much ſubdued the Spirit of the Nonconformiſts: He countenanced Men of the greateſt Parts and Learning, and diſpoſed the Clergy to a more ſolid Courſe of Study than they had been accuſtomed to, and if he had lived, would quickly have extinguiſhed all that Fire in *England* which had been kindled at *Geneva*; or if he had been ſucceeded by Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop *Overal*, or any Man who underſtood or lov'd the Church, that Infection would have been kept out which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expelled.

9 *Car.* I. And Archbiſhop *Bancroft*'s.

The State of the Church in their times.

But *Abbot* conſidered Religion no otherwiſe than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued thoſe Men moſt that did it the moſt furiouſly; for the ſtrict Obſervation of the Diſcipline of the Church, or Conformity to the Articles or Canons eſtabliſhed, he made little Enquiry, and took leſs Care; and having himſelf made very little Progreſs in the antient and ſolid Divinity, he adhered only to the Doctrine of *Calvin*; his Houſe was a Sanctuary to the moſt eminent of that factious Party, he licenſed their moſt pernicious Writings, and left his Succeſſor a very difficult Task; to reform and reduce a Church into Order that had been ſo long neglected, and that was ſo ill filled by many weak, and more wilful Churchmen.

The Remiſneſs of *Abbot*, and other Biſhops by his Example, had introduced a Negligence that gave great Scandal to the Church, and offended many pious Men: The People took ſo little Care of the Churches, and the Parſons of the Chancels, that inſtead of

of beautifying or adorning them, they suffered them to fall to decay; and they were kept so indecently and slovenly, that they would not have endured the like in the ordinary Offices in their own Houses, and the Sacraments themselves were administred where the People had most Mind to receive them. This prophane Liberty and Uncleanliness Archbishop *Laud* resolved to reform, requiring the other Bishops to concur with him; and surely, says the noble Writer, the Work was very grateful to all Men of Devotion; but the Prosecution of it with too much Heat between the Ministers and Parishioners, raised an evil Spirit towards the Church, which the Enemies of it took much Advantage of, as soon as they had an Opportunity to make the worst Use of it.

Prejudices of the Puritans.

The removing the Communion Table out of the Body of the Church, where it had used to stand and to be applied to all Uses, and fixing it to the upper End of the Chancel, and the obliging all Persons to come to the Rails to receive the Sacrament, introduced Murmurings among the Vulgar, and the Expence of railing it in, occasioned Suits of Law: The Posture of receiving the Sacrament (kneeling) also gave fresh Offence, and Books were written for and against it with the same Earnestness, as if the Life of Christianity had been at Stake.

Archbishop *Laud*'s indiscreet Zeal.

Archbishop *Laud*, guided purely by his Zeal and Reverence for the Place of God's Service, and not sufficiently considering the long Intermission and Discontinuance of these things in many Places, prosecuted this Affair more passionately than was fit for the Season. Bishop *Williams* on the other Hand, in order

*A.D.*1633 to render himſelf popular, oppoſed theſe *Innovations*, as he call'd them, in Religion; an unlucky Word ſays the ſame noble Writer, that cozen'd many honeſt Men into Apprehenſions very prejudicial to the King and the Church. *Williams* publiſhed a Treatiſe againſt theſe Innovations, which gain'd him Reputation enough to do hurt, uſing all the Wit and Malice he could to awaken the People to a Jealouſy of thoſe things, not without Inſinuations that it aim'd at greater Alterations, for which he knew the People would find a Name.

9 *Car.* I.

Biſhop *Williams*'s Malice againſt the Adminiſtration.

And though there were other Books written which ſufficiently anſwered Biſhop *Williams*, and vindicated the Archbiſhop's Proceedings, yet as they were done by Men of no great Name, or by thoſe the People were prejudiced againſt, they had not that Effect that might have been expected from them: A kind of Schiſm was rais'd in the Church, even among the Biſhops themſelves, and there appeared a great deal of Uncharitableneſs among the Clergy towards one another, in their Diſputes about theſe Matters, which gave great Advantage to the Enemies of the Church, and contributed in ſome Meaſure to the Confuſion that happened afterwards.

The Biſhops and Clergy divided.

The reviving of the Book of Sports, or a Declaration of King *James* I. againſt the ſuperſtitious Obſervation of the Sabbath, gave great Offence alſo to the Puritans: King *James* it ſeems, in his Progreſs through *Lancaſhire*, had obſerved that the Puritans and preciſe People were very troubleſome to his Subjects, by proſecuting and informing againſt them, for uſing their lawful Recreations and honeſt Exerciſes on *Sundays*, after Evening

Offence taken at the Book of Sports.

Evening Prayers (as was till that time the Practice of this Nation and the whole Christian World, who ever solemnized the Day as other Festivals are observed): Hereupon the King published a Declaration, for allowing lawful Sports and Exercises on *Sundays*, after Evening Service; for which the Declaration gives these Reasons. 1st, it says, *That the prohibiting such Sports and Exercises would probably hinder the Conversion of many Papists, whose Priests took Occasion from thence to persuade their People, that no honest Mirth or Recreation was accounted lawful, or tolerated by those of the Protestant Religion.* 2dly, *That such Prohibitions prevented the Common People from using such Exercises as might make them fit for War, and the Service of their Country.* This Declaration was at that time not only held to be innocent, but seasonable and popular; though in the next Reign, when Puritanism had gain'd Ground, the reviving it was look'd upon as a most horrible Piece of Prophaneness. In this Order of King *Charles*'s, his Majesty observes, that under Pretence of taking away Abuses, there had been a general Forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings on *Sundays*, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly call'd Wakes: Whereupon his Majesty expresly required, that these Feasts with others should be observ'd, and that the Justices of Peace should take care that all Disorders at such Meetings should be prevented or punished; but that Neighbourhood and Freedom, with manlike and lawful Exercises, might be used, and no Men molested in their lawful Recreations on *Sundays*, having first done their Duty to God; and this was required to be read in every Parish Church: However in-

A.D. 1633
9 *Car.* I.

The Reasons for publishing it.

A.D. 1633 innocent and commendable this Declaration was in itself, it was generally held, that it was not well
9 Car. I. tim'd; for some ignorant but popular Preachers, who were unacquainted with the Manner of keeping this Festival in the primitive times, had turn'd it into a *Jewish* Sabbath, contrary to the Opinion and Practice of the whole Christian World, and under Pretence of greater Purity and Sanctity than their Neighbours, had gained many Proselytes to their Opinion, and these joyning with the Sons of Sedition and Faction, took occasion from hence to vilify and asperse their Governors in Church and State, as countenancing Prophaneness and Irreligion; though it was remarkable of these Saints, that afterwards they never scrupled to assemble in Parliament and elsewhere on *Sundays*, to plot the Destruction of their Prince. This allowing of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, and other innocent Recreations on *Sundays*, after Evening Service, was imputed afterwards to the Advice of Archbishop *Laud*, and made one of the Articles, which accumulated with others, were said to amount to an Evidence of High Treason.

James II. born. On the 14th of *October* this Year, the Queen was delivered of her third Son, baptized by the Name of *James*; who was immediately proclaimed Duke of *York*; and in the Year 1684 succeeded his Brother *Charles* II. in the Throne.

1633-4. *Pryn*'s Tryal in the Star-Chamber. The following Year, in *Hilary-Term* 1633-4, came on the Tryal of *William Pryn*, Esq; a Barrister of *Lincoln's-Inn*, in the Star-Chamber, for writing and publishing a Book, entitled *Histriomastix*, or *a Scourge for Stage Players*. Wherein he inveighed violently against Stage Plays,

Plays, Comedies and Dances, cenſuring their Majeſties, and all that were preſent at them, inciting the People to Sedition; he proceeded alſo to condemn Hunting and rural Sports, publick Feſtivals, the keeping of *Chriſtmas*, Bonfires, Maypoles, and the dreſſing up Houſes with Ivy; he cenſured Muſick in general, Church Muſick, New Years Gifts, and Church Ceremonies promiſcuouſly, then he rails at Altars, Images, the long Hair of Men and Women, againſt Biſhops, againſt playing at Cards and Tables, and is wonderfully offended that ſome People wore Perukes: From the Whole he infers, that we were returning to Paganiſm again, and endeavours to perſuade the King's Subjects to leave the Kingdom, and go and ſerve God in other Countries, (which Book of *Pryn*'s may ſerve as a Specimen of the Superſtition and unaccountable Whimſies of the Puritans). The King's Counſel at the Trial well obſerved, that though it might be lawful for thoſe who had a Miſſion to write againſt the *Abuſe* of Plays in modeſt Terms, that did not excuſe Mr. *Pryn*, who could pretend no Miſſion, and had raked together all the vileſt Terms and *Billingſgate* Language to revile the Government and all Mankind; and indeed his Reflections in this Libel appeared ſo very foul and ſcandalous at the Trial, that the Judges of the Court of Star-Chamber generally concurred in the following Sentence, *viz.* That he ſhould be fined five thouſand Pounds, expelled the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and *Lincoln's-Inn*, and diſabled to practice the Law; that he ſhould be ſet in the Pillory at *Weſtminſter* and in *Cheapſide*, and in each Place loſe an Ear; that his Book ſhould be burnt before his Face by the Hangman, and

A.D 163⅜
9 *Car.* I.

His Sentence.

A.D. 163¾ and that he ſhould remain a Priſoner for Life

9 *Car.* I.

And though Chief Juſtice *Richardſon* declared in the Star-Chamber, that his Offence would have amounted to High Treaſon, had he been try'd for it in the Court of *King's-Bench*, yet the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, that the Terror of his Puniſhment ſerved to encreaſe the popular Averſion againſt the Star-Chamber, and the principal Judges of it; and enraged the Criminal to that Degree, that he became the moſt violent Incendiary and implacable Enemy to the Archbiſhop, and the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Powers.

A Maſquerade given by the Inns of Court. 1634.

But if this ſplenatick Lawyer was ſuch an Enemy to the Court, and all manner of Recreations, he had not many of his Profeſſion of the ſame Sentiments, for we find the Gentlemen of the four Inns of Court, to ſhew their Deteſtation of *Pryn*'s Libel, and congratulate the Birth of the Duke of *York*, performed a moſt ſplended Maſquerade before their Majeſties, in the Banquetting-Houſe at *Whitehall*, on *Candlemas-Day*, 1633-4, which was managed by the moſt celebrated Lawyers in each of the Inns of Court, *viz.* Mr. *Noy*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Sir *Edward Herbert* and Sir *John Finch*; and the Queen was ſo pleaſed with this Expreſſion of their Affection, that ſhe condeſcended to dance in Perſon. The Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London* alſo, to ſhew that they were not all infected with *Pryn*'s Principles, in Relation to theſe kind of Amuſements, gave a ſplendid Entertainment to their Majeſties and the Court, about a Fortnight afterwards, where there was a Ball and Maſk alſo; the Expence whereof, according to *Whitlock*, amounted to twenty thouſand Pounds.

Another by the City

The

Pounds. The *Dutch* at this time rivalling *England* in her Foreign Trade, disputing the Dominion of the Narrow Seas, and claiming a Right to fish upon our Coast with the King's Licence, (which they never presumed to do before,) and Pirates at the same time being very troublesome to our Merchants, it was found necessary to fit out such a Fleet as might assert our Sovereignity of the Seas, and protect the Trade of the Nation: To effect which an antient Custom was revived by the Crown, which had been practised upon extraordinary Occasions, of summoning the Sea Port Towns and Maritime Counties, to furnish a certain Number of Men and Ships, in proportion to their Abilities, for the Sea Service: The first Writ of this kind was dated the 20th Day of *October*, 1634; and directed to the City of *London*, whereby the Citizens were commanded to provide seven Ships of War, of the Dimensions mentioned in the Writ, furnished with Men and warlike Provisions, to be at *Portsmouth* by the first of *March*, and to continue from that time twenty-six Weeks in the Service of his Majesty, for the Defence of the Seas, &c. The City of *London* thereupon preferred a Petition to the King, representing that by several Acts of Parliament, and the Laws of the Land, they ought to be exempted from this Charge. But the Court insisting on their Obedience, the City of *London* and the rest of the Maritime Places submitted to the Imposition; and either provided the Shipping that was required, or an Equivalent in Money. But this occasioned a great deal of Murmuring, and very much encreased the Number of Malecontents; and *Noy* the

A.D. 1634
10 *Car.* I.

Ship Money demanded of the Port Towns.

The City of *London* petition against it:

But submit to the Imposition.

*A.D.*1634 10 *Car.* I. Attorney General, who was look'd upon as the Contriver of these Writs, dying immediately after, the People according to the Superstition of these Days, look'd upon his Death as a Judgment, though he was arrived to a good old Age, and could not have expected to have lived much longer by the Course of Nature. The next Year it was found necessary to make this Imposition more general, and accordingly Writs were not only directed to the Maritime Places, but to all the Inland Counties, Cities and Towns, to provide their respective *Quota*'s of Shipping for the Defence of the Realm, or an Equivalent in Money, which when settled, was found to bring in two hundred and thirty thousand Pounds *per Annum*, and upwards; but this was far from being sufficient to maintain such a Navy, as might assert the Sovereignity of the Narrow Seas, and therefore several other Ways and Means were projected for that End. As the erecting an Office for licensing the King's Subjects to travel in Foreign Countries; also a general Letter Office for *England* and *Scotland*, and Commissions were issued for confirming defective Titles, all which were then look'd upon as so many Grievances; however, the encreasing and strengthening of the Royal Navy, was certainly of the last Importance, to defend the Nation against the Insults and Encroachments of the neighbouring Powers. The *Dutch* had already driven us out of the Spice Islands in the *East Indies*, and engross'd that valuable Merchandize to themselves. They were about to deprive us of the Herring Fishery upon our own Coasts by downright Force, refusing to make any Acknowledgment for the Liberties of fishing here

*A.D.*1635 11 *Car.* I. Ship Money demanded of all the Counties in *England*.

Brings in about 230,000 *l. per Annum*.

The Necessity of fitting out a Fleet.

here, the *French* had considerably encreased their Shipping, and were in a Confederacy with the *Dutch*, to dispute the Dominion of the Seas with the King of *Great-Britain*, and in these Circumstances the Administration deserves the highest Applause, in fitting out such a Fleet as might render us Masters at Sea, however exceptionable the Method of maintaining it might be. *A.D.*1635 11 *Car.* I.

It appears that the King had a Fleet of Forty stout Men of War at Sea this Year, under the Command of the Admiral the Earl of *Lindsey*, and twenty more commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, the Vice Admiral; whereby the Narrow Seas were cleared of the Pyrates that infested them: The *Dutch* were obliged to pay a Tribute of thirty thousand Pounds *per An.* for Leave to fish on the Coast of *Britain*, and both *French* and *Dutch* were disappointed in their Projects of ravishing the Sovereignty of the Seas from us; and had not the *Dutch* and *French* fomented our Discontents at Home, and found King *Charles* other Employment, he had soon obliged *Holland* to restore the Spice Islands, they had so barbarously and treacherously takenfrom us. It cannot therefore be enough lamented, that there should be such a Misunderstanding between the King and his People, that the latter should be induced to deny him the ordinary Supplies for the Support of his Government, and put him upon such unusual Methods of raising them, as factious Men made use of to decry his Administration, and incite a Rebellion against him; when it is evident no Prince ever had the Happiness of his People more at Heart, no Monarch better understood the Interest of the Nation, or was

The *French* and *Dutch* foment our Discontents.

A.D. 1635 more ready to exert himſelf in Defence of his Subjects than King *Charles*. But to divert a little to Matters of an inferiour Nature.

11 *Car.* I.

The Streets of *London* being very narrow before the Fire, the ſtanding of Hackney Coaches in the Streets was found to be a very great Nuſance: whereupon a Proclamation was publiſhed about this time, for reſtraining the Number of them.

Hackney Coaches firſt uſed in *London*.

In the Beginning of this Reign, it ſeems, there was no Hackney Coaches ſtood in the Streets, but in Yards, where People hir'd them by the Day or Hour as they had occaſion for them; and of theſe there were not then above twenty about *London*, nor had the Magiſtrates and Perſons of Diſtinction many of them Coaches of their own; but moſt of them rode through the Streets on Horſeback: The Judges in particular, uſed to ride to *Weſtminſter* in Term-time in all Weathers.

The Prince Palatine and Prince *Rupert* come to *England*.

The latter End of this Year came over to *England* the Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, Son of the late Elector and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* the King's Siſter; and ſoon after his Brother Prince *Rupert*, who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Civil Wars of *England* in behalf of his Uncle King *Charles* the Firſt; and on the 28th of *December*, the Queen was delivered of a ſecond Daughter, named *Elizabeth*, who lived to be about fifteen Years of Age, but died unmarried, two Years after the tragical Death of the King her Father. This Year alſo *Thomas Parr*, a *Shropſhire* Man, who had arrived to the hundred and fifty ſecond Year of his Age, was brought to Court by the Earl of *Arundel*, though he ſurvived his Journey but a few Months; He had liv'd in eight Kings Reigns.

Princeſs *Elizabeth* born.

Old *Parr*.

In

In the Beginning of *March* this Year the King was pleaſed to make Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, on the Recommendation of Archbiſhop *Laud*; which, 'tis ſaid, created the Archbiſhop and the Church itſelf ſtill more Enemies, there having been no Eccleſiaſtick in that Poſt ſince the Reign of *Henry* VII; factious People were apt to ſay, that the Church was a Gulph that would ſwallow up all the great Offices of State; though it muſt be acknowledged, that the Choice was not ill made, for the Biſhop found the Revenue low, and much anticipated, and yet he ſupported the Dignity of his Majeſties Houſhold, the Splendor of the Court, and all publick Expences, and was eminently juſt in all Contracts; inſomuch there were as few Complaints in his time as in any preceding Treaſurers, and yet he cleared off all Anticipations on the Revenue, and ſet his Maſter before-hand; as Sir *Philip Warwick* obſerves in the Character he gives of this Prelate.

A.D. 1636. 12 *Car.* I. Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London* made Lord Treaſurer.

The King being reſolved to maintain his Dominion of the Narrow Seas, fitted out a greater Fleet this Year than in any of the preceding; and at this Time it was, that the Ship called the *Royal-Sovereign* was built, eſteemed then the largeſt and the fineſt Veſſel that had ever floated on the Ocean; and as *Grotius* had publiſhed a Treatiſe, endeavouring to ſhew, that the Sea was equally free for all Mankind, the celebrated *Selden* evidently proved, that the Sea itſelf might be appropriated, and that the Fiſhing and Navigation on any Coaſt properly belonged to the Natives of the neighbouring Shores, and that they might juſtly exclude Foreign Nations

The Royal Navy encreaſed.

Diſputes concerning the Dominion of the Narrow Seas, between *Grotius* and *Selden*.

*A D.*1636 Nations if they ſaw fit. But as the *Dutch*
12 *Car.* I. were not a People to be moved by Argument, the King having conſtituted *Algernoon*, Earl of *Northumberland* his Admiral, gave him Orders to drive the *Dutch* Herring-Buſſes from off the Coaſt of *Britain*: The Admiral accordingly ſailing Northward with ſixty Sail of Men of War, and coming in view of the *Dutch* Fleet, ordered them to deſiſt from Fiſhing and leave the Shores of *Britain*; but they relying upon the Strength of the States Fleet that protected them, refuſed to obey, whereupon the Earl fired upon them, ſunk ſome, and diſperſed the reſt; and the *Dutch* finding the King in earneſt, applied themſelves to the *Engliſh* Admiral, deſiring he wou'd mediate with his Majeſty to permit them to Fiſh this Seaſon, and they would pay him thirty Thouſand Pounds down, and an annual Tribute for the Future; and they accordingly paid the 30000 *l.* they had promiſed: But the King being afterwards engaged in reſiſting inteſtine Commotions, the *Dutch* by degrees withdrew their Tribute, and reſumed their uſual Inſolence; till *Cromwell* the Uſurper beat them again into better Manners.

The *Dutch* pay 30000*l.* for leave to Fiſh on the Coaſt, and promiſe an annual Tribute.

But notwithſtanding Ship-Money was applied to ſuch good Purpoſes, as the Protection of Trade, and maintaining the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, People became very uneaſy under it; they ſaid, by the ſame rule the King required thus much, he might command all they had: The City of *London* petitioned again againſt it, or at leaſt for a Mitigation of the Tax; but were anſwered by the Council, that ſuch Petitions were not to be receiv'd, that Obedience was expected from them, and they would incur his

The levying Ship-Money encreaſes the number of Male-contents.

his Majesties Displeasure by disputing his Commands. However, his Majesty observing a general Aversion in the People, to the Payment of this Tax, and that they murmured against it as illegal; resolved for their Satisfaction to take the Opinion of the twelve Judges, as well separately as together, on which Occasion all those Sages concurred in the following Opinion, *viz. That when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the Kingdom in danger, your Majesty may by Writ under the Great Seal of* England, *command all your Subjects of this your Kingdom, at their Charge, to provide and furnish such a number of Ships and Men, Victuals and Munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of this Kingdom from such Danger and Peril; and that by Law your Majesty may compel the doing thereof in case of Refusal or Refractorinesss: And we also are of Opinion, that in such Case your Majesty is the sole Judge, both of the Danger and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.* This Opinion was Signed and Subscribed by *Bramston, Finch, Davenport, Denham, Hatton, Jones, Crook, Trevor, Vernon, Berkley, Crawley* and *Weston.* Not one of the twelve Judges dissented. But this Opinion of the Judges, instead of appeasing the People, alarmed them more than ever; for they believed from henceforward the Court would proceed to Tax them at pleasure, without ever consulting their Representatives in Parliament, and that whatever they possessed now, lay at the Mercy of the Ministry.

*A.D.*1636
12 *Car.* I.

The Resolutions of the Judges concerning Ship-Money.

Archbishop *Laud* claims a Right of visiting the Universities.

Archbishop *Laud* also this Year, unhappily increased the Envy and Hatred of the People against

A.D. 1636 againſt him, by aſſuming a right to Viſit the two Univerſities; who inſiſted, that as they were founded by Kings, they were only ſubject to Royal Viſitations; but the King upon hearing Counſel on both Sides, was pleaſed to yield the Point to the Archbiſhop, who not long after entertained the King and Court with great Splendor at *Oxford*; and the latter end of the ſame Year the Queen was brought to Bed of a third Daughter, baptized by the Name of *Anne*, who died at four Years of Age. The Kingdom at this time enjoyed a profound Peace, Trade flouriſhed, and Riches and Plenty never abounded more, but ſtill the Nation was far from being happy; Party Quarrels ran higher than ever, Archbiſhop *Laud* preſſed Conformity with more than prudent Zeal, while the *Puritans* and *Republicans* railed at Innovations, aſperſing the Adminiſtration, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, and many of them choſe rather to tranſport themſelves to *New-England* in *America*, than ſubmit to the Eſtabliſhment; inſomuch that the Government, apprehenſive of the ill Conſequences of their abandoning the Kingdom in Crowds, thought fit to publiſh a Proclamation to reſtrain their going beyond Sea without Licenſe, eſpecially their Preachers.

12 *Car.* I.

Princeſs *Anne* born. *A.D.* 1637

13 *Car.* I.

The State of the Nation at this time.

Nor were the *Puritans* only diſguſted at the Archbiſhop's carrying Matters with ſo high a Hand, but many who were very good Friends to the Church and Conſtitution, finding every petty Tranſgreſſion proſecuted, either in the High-Commiſſion, or in the inferior Eccleſiaſtical Courts with uncommon Heat, and that the Extortions and Vexations of the Officers of thoſe Courts were very

very grievous, they join'd the Puritans in the common Cry againſt the Tyranny of the Church, aſcribing all Exceſſes of this kind to the Influence of Archbiſhop *Laud*, how much ſoever his Subſtitutes and Officers exceeded their Inſtructions; tho' had his Grace been apprized of the ill Uſe his Agents made of the Powers committed to them, he would no doubt have remedied thoſe Diſorders. However the Trouble People often met with from Proceſſes out of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, put them at length upon queſtioning their Juriſdiction, under pretence they were not held in the King's Name, but in the Biſhops: Whereupon the King thought fit to demand the Opinion of the Judges, as to the Legality of thoſe Courts; who unanimouſly declared, *That the Proceedings in Eccleſiaſtical Courts were Legal, and that they were under no neceſſity of acting by the Authority of the Broad-Seal, or to uſe the King's Name in their Proceſſes.* And a Proclamation was publiſhed, to acquaint the People with the Opinion of the twelve Judges in this Matter, which 'tis ſaid, Archbiſhop *Laud* looked upon as a great Point gain'd for the Church; but as this Reſolution conduced to the making the Officers of thoſe Courts ſtill more Inſolent, who looked upon their Oppreſſions, as well as the Legality of their Courts, to be countenanced by this Deciſion; and the People now apprehending themſelves without Remedy, a Spirit was raiſed againſt the Church itſelf, as well as againſt thoſe Courts; which the Puritans encouraging by every wicked Art, contributed in a great Degree to the Deſtruction of the Eſtabliſhment.

A.D. 1637
13 *Car.* I.

Reſolutions of the Judges concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

Contributes to the Peoples Diſcontents.

*A.D.*1637
13 *Car.* I.
The Trials of *Burton*, *Pryn* and *Baſtwick*.

There was a Triumvirate of Incendiaries tried about this time in the Star-Chamber, *viz.* the infamous *Burton*, *Prynn* and *Baſtwick*, whoſe Sentence and Puniſhment, however juſt, yet is generally acknowledged to have done the Government great diſſervice: *Prynn* had his Ears cropp'd already for his Libel ſtil'd *Hiſtriomaſti*, as has been related; and though he remained ſtill a Priſoner for that Libel, he proceeded to write others during his Confinement, and particularly one levell'd againſt the Biſhops and the Church, in which he ſtiles the Archbiſhop, *Archagent for the Devil*, and calls the Biſhops *Luciferian Lords*, *execrable Traytors*, *and devouring Wolves*. Doctor *E. Baſtwick*, a Phyſician, was proſecuted for Writing againſt the High Commiſſion-Court; and *Burton* a Clergyman, had made it his buſineſs in his Sermons and Converſation to traduce both the King and Biſhops; the Offences of the two laſt being ſo heinous and notorious, that it was debated by the Judges, whether they had not incurred the Guilt of High Treaſon. They were however all three try'd in the Star-Chamber for Miſdemeanors only, of which being fully convicted, *Prynn* was condemned in a Fine of five Thouſand Pounds, to loſe the Remainder of his Ears in the Pillory, to be branded in each Cheek, and to be impriſon'd in *Caernarvan* Caſtle; *Burton* and *Baſtwick* were condemned in the like Fine, order'd to be ſet in the Pillory, and loſe their Ears, and to be impriſoned in the Caſtle of *Launceſton* and *Lancaſter*.

The Modeſty and Temper of theſe admired Puritanical Confeſſors, may be gathered from the following Paſſages in *Baſtwick's* Anſwer

Anſwer in the Star-Chamber; where he ſays, *The Prelates are Invaders of the King's Prerogative Royal, Contemners and Deſpiſers of the Holy Scriptures, Advancers of Popery, Superſtition, Idolatry and Prophaneneſs; they abuſe the King's Authority to the Oppreſſion of his Loyal Subjects, and therein expreſs great Cruelty, Tyranny and Injuſtice; and in Execution of this impious Performance, they ſhew neither Wit, Honeſty nor Temperature, nor are they Servants of God (as they ought to be indeed) but of the Devil*, &c. Of theſe Men the Lord *Clarendon* gives the following Deſcription; they were three Perſons moſt notorious for their declared Malice againſt the Government of the Church by Biſhops, in their ſeveral Books and Writings which they had publiſhed to Corrupt the People with Circumſtances very ſcandalous, and in Language very ſcurrilous and impudent, which all Men thought deſerved very exemplary Puniſhment. They were of the three ſeveral Profeſſions which had the moſt Influence upon the People; a Divine, a common Lawyer, and a Doctor of Phyſick, none of them of Intereſt, or any Eſteem with the worthy Part of their ſeveral Profeſſions, having been formerly all look'd upon under Characters of Reproach; yet when they were all ſentenced, and for the Execution of that Sentence brought out to be puniſhed as common and ſignal Rogues, expos'd upon Scaffolds, to have their Ears cut off, and their Faces and Fore-heads branded with hot Irons (as the pooreſt and moſt mechanick Malefactors uſed to be, when they were not able to redeem themſelves by any Fine for their Treſpaſſes, or to ſatisfy any Damages for the Scandals they had raiſed

A D. 1637
13 Car. I.

*A.D.*1637 13 *Car.* I.

againſt the good Name and Reputation of others) Men began no more to conſider their Manners, but the Men; and each Profeſſion with Anger and Indignation enough, thought their Education, Degrees and Quality, would have ſecured them from ſuch infamous Judgments, and treaſured up Wrath for the time to come.

Prynn indeed afterwards, when he ſaw the Deſtruction he and his Brethren had brought upon his Country by his ſeditious Practices, ingeniouſly acknowledged, That the King had done the Nation good Service, if he had taken his Head when he cropp'd his Ears.

Lilburne ſentenced to be whipp'd.

Soon after the Trial of *Prynn*, *&c. John Lilburne*, a poor Book-binder, whom *Prynn* had retain'd in his Service while he was impriſon'd in the Tower for his firſt Offence, and who had aſſiſted him in diſperſing ſome of his Libels, was ſentenced in the Star-Chamber to be whipp'd from the Fleet-Priſon to *Weſtminſter*, which confirm'd *Lilburne* in his Diſaffection to the Government, and he was thought to have merited ſo much by his Endeavours to ſubvert the Conſtitution, that he was afterwards made a Colonel in the Rebels Army; however, as he became one of the Sect of Levellers, and oppoſed every thing that was uppermoſt, the Uſurpers themſelves found a Neceſſity of confining him, and he died at length a Quaker, being impriſon'd by the very Men he had formerly ſerv'd, in *Dover* Caſtle.

Afterwards a Colonel in the Rebels Army.

Dies a Quaker.

Biſhop *Williams* proſecuted.

It has been already obſerved, that Dr. *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, being in diſgrace at Court, had endeavoured to render himſelf Popular, by writing in favour of the Puritans, and oppoſing the Meaſures of the

the Miniſtry. The Court not being ignorant of his Practices, gave way to a Proſecution of this Prelate in the Star-Chamber, for revealing the King's Secrets while he was a Privy-Counſellor; but while this matter was in Debate, it was diſcovered that the Biſhop had been tampering with ſome of the King's Witneſſes to take off their Evidence; whereupon the firſt Charge was dropp'd, and his tampering with the Witneſſes was made the Subject of another Proſecution in the ſame Court; where the Biſhop was convicted, fined ten Thouſand Pounds, and condemn'd to be impriſon'd during the King's Pleaſure: He was alſo ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, by the High Commiſſion. The Biſhop's Papers being ſeized among his Effects for the Fine, there was found a Letter directed to him reflecting on the Miniſtry, for which he was again proſecuted in the Star-Chamber, and fined eight Thouſand Pounds more. In ſhort, the Miniſtry knew him to be a very formidable Enemy, and that he was endeavouring to render himſelf Popular at their Expence, they were reſolved therefore to prevent his doing them any further Miſchief if poſſible. On the other Hand, the People, and eſpecially the Puritans, look'd upon him as a Patriot, or rather their Advocate, and that he ſuffered for ſtanding up againſt *Innovations* in Religion and Government, according to a Treatiſe he had formerly written, and which has been mentioned already.

A.D. 1637
13 *Car* I.

The Biſhop's Sentence.

But nothing more alarmed and exaſperated the Nation in general, than the Judgment given in the Exchequer-Chamber for the King againſt Mr. *Hampden*, in the Caſe of Ship-Money; an Abſtract whereof I ſhall offer

Hampden's Trial for non-payment of Ship-Money.

*A.D.*1637 offer to the Reader. A Writ of *Scire facias* having been directed to the Sheriff of *Bucks*, 13 *Car.* I. to return thoſe into the Exchequer who made Default in payment of the Sums aſſeſſed upon them, for the furniſhing out a Ship, *&c.* the Sheriff in *Trinity* Term, 13 *Car.* return'd, that *John Hampden*, Eſq; was aſſeſſed Twenty Shillings and had not paid it; whereupon Mr. *Hampden* appeared, and having demanded *Oyer* of the Writ *Scire Facias*, Return, *&c.* demurred thereupon, and the Attorney General join'd in Demurrer, and the Cauſe was adjourned into the Exchequer Chamber, to be heared by all the Judges of *England*.

This Caſe was argued ſeveral Days by Sir *John Banks*, Attorney General, and Sir *Edward Littleton*, Solicitor General, for the King; and by Mr. *Oliver St. John*, and Mr. *Robert Holborn*, for the Defendant, and afterwards debated at large by the twelve Judges in Court. I ſhall refer the Reader to the 6th Volume of the 8th Edition of State Trials, for the learned Arguments uſed in this Cauſe, and only obſerve here, that it was granted on both Sides, that where the Nation was actually in danger from a ſudden Invaſion, or the like, the King might command his Subjects to aſſiſt in the Defence of it with their Perſons and Purſes, as Queen *Elizabeth* did on the Invaſion threatned by the *Spaniard*; but where there was not that threatning danger, his Majeſty could not levy any Tax upon his Subjects without conſent of Parliament. Mr. *Hampden*, as has been obſerved already, had demurred, and thereby confeſſed the Danger: Whereupon ten of the twelve Judges were of Opinion,

nion, that Judgment ought to be given for the King, and the other two, *Hutton* and *Crook*; though they had formerly given it under their Hands, that the Charge was legal, yet now thought fit to retract that Opinion. However, as the Majority of the Bench was for the King, Judgment was given, that the Twenty Shillings aſſeſſed on Mr. *Hampden*, ſhould be levied upon him; nor is it eaſy to conceive how they could have given any other Judgment, ſince the Danger was confeſſed by the Defendant's Demurrer, notwithſtanding the ſevere Cenſure the Lord *Clarendon* and other Writers have paſſed upon the Judges. Their firſt Opinion indeed, *that the King was ſole Judge of the Danger*, and conſequently might levy Taxes on the People whenever he ſhould ſay the Kingdom was in Danger, was a very monſtrous Opinion, and deſerves the ſevereſt Animadverſion; but in this Caſe, where the Danger was confeſſed by the Defendant, I don't ſee they were liable to the like Cenſure. There is no doubt but the Enemies of the Government ſuggeſted, that by this Judgment the King was empowered to ſeize their Properties whenever he ſhould ſay the Kingdom was in Danger, whether there was in reality any Danger or not: And this created inſuperable Prejudices againſt the Adminiſtration; but all that can be inferred from this Judgment at laſt, ſeems to be no more than this, that when the Kingdom is actually Invaded, the King may take the propereſt Meaſures to reſiſt the Enemy, and even command the Perſons and Purſes of any private Subject in that caſe, in order to ſave the whole. And whether indeed every private

A.D. 1637
13 Car. I.

*A.D.*1637 vate Man, as well as the Prince, is not empower'd to oppoſe a common Enemy, or common Danger, without regard to the private Property of his Neighbour, when the Danger is ſo ſudden and preſſing, that the waiting for Authority would hazard the whole, is a Queſtion that may deſerve our Conſideration.

13 *Car.* I.

But whether the Proceedings of the Miniſtry were ſtrictly legal or not, certain it is their Conduct was very unacceptable to the People, who looking upon their Liberties and Properties to be invaded, join'd with the Puritans in clamouring againſt the Government. In the mean time the *Scots*, who thought they were treated as an *Engliſh* Province, and were impatient to ſhake off the Yoke, and reſume their former Independency, were pleaſed to ſee the *Engliſh* divided among themſelves. They did not only foment their Diviſions therefore, but enter'd into a ſtrict Union with the Party that oppoſed the Court in *England*, to which they were ſtill more inclined by their fondneſs for Presbytery, and ſome other ſecular Views. The Miniſters of their Kirk could not bear the Superiority of Biſhops; and their Nobility, who had ſeized the Church-Lands, were apprehenſive they ſhould be obliged to reſtore them if they ſuffered Epiſcopacy to be eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*.

The *Scots* unite with the *Engliſh* Malecontents againſt the Government.

Their Reaſons for it.

King *James* had made ſome Attempts to render the *Scots* conformable to the *Engliſh* in the Exerciſe of their Religion: He had obtain'd an Act for a publick Liturgy in a General Aſſembly at *Aberdeen*, A. D. 1616. and ſome further Conceſſions and Concluſions agreeable to the Pattern of the Church of *England*,

The State of the Church of *Scotland*.

England, in an Aſſembly at *Perth*, A. D. 1618. ſeveral *Scotiſh* Biſhops alſo were conſecrated in *England*. And it was enacted, That whatſoever his Majeſty ſhould determine in the external Government of the Church, with the Advice of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and a competent Number of the Miniſtry, ſhould have the Strength of a Law. Theſe Advances (ſays Biſhop *Kennet*) towards the Conſtitution of the Church of *England* in the former Reign, however juſt and reaſonable, had made the People more and more averſe to the Church and Court of *England*. Under theſe popular Fears and Jealouſies, the King being in *Scotland* in 1633, had committed it to the Care of ſome of the Biſhops there, to provide a Book of Canons, and a Liturgy for that Kingdom to be tranſmitted to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other *Engliſh* Biſhops, and after their Approbation, to be confirm'd and enjoined by the King. The Book of Canons which ſhould have followed the Liturgy, (becauſe referring to the Rites and Ceremonies required by it) came prepoſterouſly out before it, in 1635, and had many invidious things in it; ſuch as a Declaration of the unlimited Power, and full perſonal Supremacy of their Kings; that all Biſhops and Clergymen ſhould bequeath ſomewhat to the Church; that no Preſbyter ſhould reveal any thing received in Confeſſion, and other Proviſo's very odious to the common People there, becauſe they could not underſtand them. This Diſpoſition of Things and Perſons, made it an ill Seaſon for the Reception of the Liturgy, that was to be now ſent among them, after it had been compiled in *Scotland*,

A.D. 1637

13 *Car.* I.

*A.D.*1637 and perused and amended by the Bishops in *England*, and confirmed by the King, and
13 *Car.* I. now published with his Majesty's Reasons for enjoining of it, and with Instructions to the Bishops of that Kingdom to proceed with Moderation and Patience in obtaining the good Effects of it. *Easter-day* in this Year, had been appointed for the first Reading of this Service; but either upon better Consideration of the *English* Court, or rather a sly Design of the *Scotish* Ministry, it was deferred to the 23d of *July*, on which Day it was begun to be read in the chief Church of St. *Giles*'s in *Edinburgh*: But immediately the People fell into Clamours and Confusion, crying out, *a Pope*, *a Pope*, *Antichrist*, *Antichrist*, *Stane him*, *Stane him*, meaning the Dean of *Edinburgh*, then reading in the Desk, habited in a Surplice.

A Tumult on reading the Liturgy at *Edinburgh*

The Bishop of *Edinburgh* who was to Preach that Day, stept into the Pulpit and attempted to appease the Tumult; but a Stool was thrown at his Head, diverted by the Hand of one present. The Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s, and other Lords, could have no Influence on the Mob; till the Provost, Bailiffs and City Magistrates, did with some Difficulty thrust out of the Church the Chief of the Mutineers, and shut the Church Doors against them; after which the Dean read the Service, though grievously interrupted by the Rabble, who stood knocking at the Doors, and threw in Stones at the Windows, and betrayed all the Fury of an enraged Multitude. In the other Churches of *Edinburgh* also the Service was interrupted, but not with that Violence as in St.

St. *Giles*'s, where the Dean officiated; and in the Afternoon the Council took care to raiſe ſuch a Force as to prevent the like Diſorders, but did not think fit to puniſh any of the Mutineers; and indeed it is generally believed, that the Lord Treaſurer *Traquair*, and ſeveral of the Miniſtry, under Hand encouraged theſe Tumults: Certain it is, *Henderſon* and the Miniſters of the Kirk, who oppoſed the Liturgy, were ſoon after joned by the Earls of *Lothian*, *Caſſels*, *Eglington* and *Hume*; the Lords *Lindſey*, *Lowdon*, *Lorn*, *Balmerino*, and other Perſons of Diſtinction, who delivered a Petition to the Lords of the Council, againſt the Service-Book, which was favourably received by the Lord Treaſurer, who promiſed they ſhould receive an Anſwer from the King by the 17th of *October*: On which Day their appeared a vaſt Concourſe of People at *Edinburgh*, from all Parts of *Scotland*, and among them many more of the prime Nobility, who preferred freſh Petitions againſt the Liturgy; but inſtead of an Anſwer they met with a Proclamation, which was read to them at the Market-Croſs, commanding them to repair to their reſpective Dwellings, on pain of being treated as Rebells, which they had very little regard to; for the next Morning the Faction aſſembling their poſſe, ſurrounded the Council-Chamber, demanding the Biſhop of *Galloway* to be delivered up to their Mercy; and had the Council not been protected by ſome of the Lords of the Presbyterian Party, the Biſhop and ſome other Members of the Council had infallibly been pulled to Pieces by the Mob. As for the Provoſt and City Magiſtrates, to whom the Council applied for Protection,

*A.D.*1637
13 *Car.* I.

Suppoſed to be encouraged by the Miniſtry in *Scotland*.

An Inſurrection againſt the Government at *Edinburgh*.

*A.D.*1637
13 *Car.* I.

they declared they were not able to defend themſelves againſt the Multitude, who threatned them with Fire and Sword, and had forced them to Sign a Paper, *That they would adhere to the Kirk in Oppoſition to the Service-Book.*

The Malecontents proceeded to draw up another Petition againſt the Biſhops, as the Underminers of Religion, and to demand Juſtice againſt them: This they ſent all over the Kingdom, to the ſeveral Preſbyteries and Pariſhes, to be ſubſcribed and returned to *Edinburgh* the next Council day, being the 15th of *November*; when Crouds of the Petitioners reſorted thither again, and preſented it to the Council, who promiſing to tranſmit it to Court, it was ſometime after anſwer'd by another Proclamation, wherein his Majeſty expreſſes his concern that his Subjects of that Kingdom ſhould be poſſeſſed with groundleſs Fears concerning their Religion; declaring that he abhorred the Superſtitions of Popery, and that he would encourage the true Religion, as it was now profeſſed in *Scotland:* but this was ſo far from ſatisfying the *Scots*, that the Nobility and People of Figure, who now avowed their diſlike of the Liturgy and Canons, drew up another Petition againſt them; whereupon the Lord Treaſurer *Traquair* was deputed to his Majeſty to give an account of the State of that Kingdom.

*A.D.*1638
14 *Car.* I.

The King being informed how things ſtood, publiſh'd another Proclamation, wherein he declared, that he had no other Intention in appointing a Liturgy, than the Maintenance of true Religion: That though they had incurred the higheſt Penalties, by petitioning againſt

The King offers to paſs by what is paſt.

againſt it in that tumultuous Manner, he was ready to paſs by all former Offences, ſtrictly forbidding however, their reſorting to *Edinburgh* in ſuch Numbers for the future. *A.D.* 1638 — 14 *Car.* I.

The Publication of this Proclamation produced a Proteſt from the Diſaffected, wherein they declared, that the Inconveniencies occaſioned by the *Innovations* in Divine Service, did not ariſe from them, who only deſired a Reformation, and that their Petitions proceeding from Conſcience, and a due Reſpect to his Majeſty's Honour, tended only to the Redreſs of their preſſing Grievances; however, not depending on their Reaſons, they thought fit to have recourſe to Arms, and upon the Matter, erected a new Form of Government. In the firſt Place they conſtituted four Councils or Tables, conſiſting of four Orders or Claſſes of Men, *viz.* of the Nobility, Barons, Burgeſſes and Miniſters, who having conſidered Matters relating to their reſpective Orders, preſented them to a fifth general Table or Council, conſiſting of the principal Members of the other four, and this general Table or Council it was, that firſt framed the ſolemn League and Covenant, in which they bound themſelves to defend each other, to maintain the Religion they profeſſed againſt all Men, his Majeſty not excepted; declaring that they thereby abjur'd, not only the new Liturgy and Canons, but Epiſcopal Government, and the five Articles of *Perth*, which were eſtabliſhed by an Act of Parliament then in Force; and this Covenant they required all the Subjects of *Scotland* to take, and afterwards drew the *Engliſh* Rebels into it, on Condition of aſſiſting them againſt their common Sovereign

They proteſt againſt Innovations.

Erect a new Form of Government.

The ſolemn League and Covenant.

*A.D.*1638 reign. This was the wicked Band or Confederacy which firſt overturned the Conſtitu-
14 *Car.* I. tion in Church and State in both Kingdoms, and at laſt proved fatal to the Contrivers of it: The Original is yet preſerved in *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*. Never was human Compoſition ſo extolled by the People, as a modern Writer obſerves; one of their Preachers (*Cant*) told his Congregation, *he was commiſſioned by Jeſus Chriſt to bid them ſubſcribe it, for it was Chriſt's Contract: That he came as a Woer for the Bridegroom to call upon them to be hand-faſted by Subſcribing that Contract: That he would not depart till he had got the Names of all Refuſers, of whom he would complain to his Maſter*; every place of Scripture was applied to it that related to the Covenant between God and the *Iſraelites*, and with ſuch Violence was it impoſed, that the Biſhops and Clergy who refuſed to ſubſcribe the Covenant, were obliged to fly their Country; only Dr. *Guthry*, Biſhop of *Murray*, defied their brutiſh Rage, and in his Impriſonment juſtified Epiſcopacy till his Sufferings put an end to his Life.

The ſuperſtition of the *Scots* for their Covenant.

The King betrayed by his Miniſters.

This honeſt Biſhop in his Memoirs, ſhews, that if the King had not been betrayed by thoſe he truſted with the Affairs of *Scotland*, the Tumults there would ſoon have been compoſed; even the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whom the King relied chiefly upon, and was ſent down to *Edinburgh*, with full Powers to ſuppreſs that Inſurrection, or treat with the Malecontents on ſuch Terms as he ſaw fit, privately encouraged the Covenanters to remain Obſtinate to all offers of Accommodation, aſſuring them, that if they did ſo they would carry what they pleaſed, but if they

they fainted, or gave ground in the leaſt, they were undone: and the Lord *Clarendon* gives us too much reaſon to believe that the Marquis favoured their Cauſe: He tells us, he obtained leave of the King to *pretend* he was one of them, that he might have the better Opportunities of ſerving his Majeſty; which ſhews, that on one ſide at leaſt he acted the treacherous Part, and probably he deſign'd to make both King and People ſubſervient to his Views. The Story of *Rea* and *Ramſey* was revived about this time, between whom the Combat already mentioned was to have been fought, on ſome Words one of them had let fall, charging the Marquis with aſpiring to the Crown of *Scotland*: Certain it is, this Nobleman adviſed the King to give up the Liturgy, the Book of Canons, and the Articles of *Perth*, and at the Importunity of the Covenanters, called a General Aſſembly of their Kirk at *Glaſcow*, where the Malecontents carried things with ſo high a Hand, that the Marquis could not avoid diſſolving them, unleſs he would have declared openly for them againſt the Court, which was not ſuitable to the double Game he had to play; and they did their Buſineſs without his appearing in it; for they declared it was not in the King's Power to interrupt their ſitting: *This they ſaid was to prejudice the Prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt and the Liberties of the Kirk*, and in purſuance of this Reſolution, they proceeded by their own Authority to paſs ſeveral Acts, condemning Epiſcopacy as Antichriſtian, though it ſtood eſtabliſhed by ſeveral Acts of Parliament: They deprived and excommunicated the Biſhops, cenſured *Armenian* Tenets, and turned

The General Aſſembly ſit after the King diſſolved them, and take upon them to repeal Acts of Parliament

*A.D.*1638 14 *Car.* I. turned ſeveral Clergymen out of their Livings whom they did not like, many of whom fled to *England*. At the ſame time it appears the Kirk held a conſtant Correſpondence with the Puritans and diſaffected Party in *England*, and that the Earl of *Haddington*, and *Borthwick* a Miniſter, reſided at *London* to conſert Meaſures with them.

They enter into a Conſpiracy with the *Engliſh* Male-contents.

The Marquis of *Hamilton*, the high Commiſſioner, being returned to Court, the Aſſembly ſent up their Demands in a Letter by one of their Members, requiring that all their Procedings might be confirmed by the King; which Letter was approved of by the *Scotch* Nobility his Majeſty referred it to, as a modeſt dutiful Letter. The chief Deſign of it was to amuſe the Court of *England* till the *Scots* prepared for War; for before their Meſſenger was returned with the King's Anſwer, in which he aſſured them he would come to *York* the following Spring, and there conſult the *Scotiſh* Council, they had reſolved to raiſe an Army, and appointed *David Leſley* (who had ſerved in *Germany* as a Colonel) their General, and appointed their Party to come to the Rendezvous at *Edinburgh* with their Arms, under pretence the King was arming againſt them. They made themſelves Maſters alſo of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* by the Treachery of thoſe who had the Care of it, ſeized the Regalia in the King's Palace of *Dalkeith*, with his Stores of Arms and Ammunition, and poſſeſſed themſelves of moſt of the Fortreſſes and Strong Places in the Kingdom. Their Miniſters alſo encouraged them in their Rebellion from the Pulpit, telling them that the Wrath of God would never be appeaſed till all Prelates were hanged:

*A.D.*1638/9 14 *Car.* I. The *Scots* raiſe Forces, ſeize the Kings Fortreſſes, *&c.*

ed: That their Religion and Liberties would be loſt, *if they did not now quit themſelves like Men, Curſing all thoſe who went not out to the help of the Angel of the Lord againſt the Mighty*; requiring the People to take up Arms againſt the King, on pain of Damnation. At the ſame time they cauſed ſwarms of Libels to be diſperſed in *England* to juſtify their Proceedings, and incite his Majeſties Subjects of that Kingdom in like manner to throw off their Allegiance; and indeed had they not been ſure of a ſtrong Party in *England*, and even in the Court itſelf, the *Scots* durſt not in this outragious Manner, have provoked and braved their King, who at that time wanted neither Treaſure or Troops to reduce them to their Duty. *A.D.* 163$\frac{8}{9}$ 15 *Car.* I.

The King, the Lord *Clarendon* informs us, having a very tender Regard for his Native Country, had entertained many of the Nobility of that Kingdom in his Court, who were cunning enough to conceal their Diſaffection; and while they pretended an inviolable Loyalty, betrayed all his Councils. *If all that Nation* (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) *who were united in their Rebellion, had marched with their Army and publickly owned the Covenant, which in their Hearts they ador'd, neither the King or Kingdom could have ſuſtain'd any great Damage by them; but the King thought it unjuſt to condemn a Nation for the Tranſgreſſion of a part of it, and therefore withdrew not his Confidence from any of thoſe who attended his Perſon, who in truth lay Liegar for the Coveuant, and kept up the Spirits of their Countrymen by their Intelligence.* The *Scots* in the Court of *England*, many of them falſe.

They had long repreſented to his Majeſty that the Male-contents in *Scotland* were a well The K. raiſes an Army to reduce the *Scots* to their duty.

*A.D.*1638 14 *Car.* I. well meaning, but deluded People, who would be eaſily ſuppreſſed upon making ſome few Conceſſions in Matters of Religion, whereby they had hitherto prevented his Majeſties ſending any Troops againſt their Countrymen; but not being able to diſguiſe the Truth any longer, the King by the Advice of his Council in the Beginning of the Spring drew an Army together, conſiſting of ſix Thouſand Horſe and as many Foot, and conſtituted the Earl of *Arundel* General, the Earl of *Eſſex* Lieutenant General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horſe. A Fleet alſo was equipped to cruiſe upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*, the Command whereof was given to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who had three Thouſand Landmen embarked with him in order to make a Deſcent whereever he ſhould judge proper. The King having ſummoned the Nobility to attend him, began his March towards *York* on the 27th of *March* 1639.——Never was there ſeen a more glorious Cavalcade through the whole Kingdom from *South* to *North*. And the Lord *Clarendon* appears to have been of Opinion, that the King rather deſign'd to Awe the *Scots* into a Submiſſion by this magnificent Appearance, than to Chaſtize their Rebellion by actually entering into a War with them, though his Army was abundantly ſufficient to have put what Terms upon the *Scots* he pleaſed.

*A.D.*1639 15 *Car.* I. Marches towards the North.

The *Scots* and *Engliſh* Malecontents enter into a Conſpiracy againſt the King at *York*.

When the King arrived at *York*, many of the *Scotiſh* Nobility came thither under a Pretence of paying their Duty to him; but in truth, to tamper with the *Engliſh*, who were many of them no leſs diſcontented than themſelves: They pretended all Submiſſion to

to his Majesties Pleasure indeed, and lamented that their Actions had been misrepresented; but at the same time were forming Designs to defend all they had done. This great resort however of the *Scots* to the Court at *York*, with some Discoveries that had been made of their Insincerity, alarmed the Council, who apprehending his Majesties Designs were betray'd, proposed that both the *English* and *Scotish* Nobility should sign a solemn Oath and Protestation by way of Test that they would remain faithful to his Majesty, and disclaim and renounce all Correspondence with the Enemy. This none of the Scots refused, though they still held Intelligence with their Army; but two *English* Peers who were in Confederacy with them, *viz.* the Lords *Say* and *Brook*, absolutely refused to take any such Oath, or Sign the Protest, and in this they shewed themselves honester than their Northern Friends; however, having given the King sufficient Reason to suspect their Loyalty by this Refusal, he ordered them to be confined for a short time.

A.D. 1639
15 *Car.* I.

A Test required of their fidelity.

The Lord *Say* and *Brook* confin'd for not renouncing a Correspondence with the *Scots*.

The King advancing with the Army as far as *Berwick*, encamped in a Field two Miles to the Westward of that Town, from whence he detached the Earl of *Holland*, General of the Horse, with five Thousand Men to take a View of the Enemy, who had posted themselves near *Dunce*, six or seven Miles distance from the Royal Army. The Earl found the *Scots* drawn up on the side of a Hill, and under pretence they appeared too numerous to be attacked, made a precipitate Retreat; though it was known afterwards that the *Scots* never had more than three Thousand Men in

The Earl of *Holland* retires before the *Scots* without striking a Stroke.

*A.D.*1639 the Field this Campaign, and theſe undiſciplin'd Country Fellows, not half arm'd. Nor did the Earl behave better upon a ſecond Trial, for being ſent with a Body of between two and three Thouſand Horſe and Foot to oppoſe fifteen Hundred *Scots* that were advanced to *Kelſo*, he retired again in Confuſion without ſtriking a Stroke: The Marquis of *Hamilton* appears to have been no leſs peaceably diſpoſed, he came into the Road of *Leith*, near *Edinburgh*, with twenty Sail of large Men of War, and three or four Thouſond Land Forces on board; but when the Lord *Aboyn*, the *Gordons*, and other Anti-Covenanters took the Field in his favour, and propoſed to join him, he refuſed the Offer, and only ſpent his time in fruitleſs Treaties with the Covenanters, in ſuch a Manner as confirmed People in their Suſpicions of his Diſloyalty. Here alſo he received a Viſit from his Mother, a rigid Covenanter, to the great Conſolation of his Countrymen, who ſaid merrily, *They knew the Son of ſo gude a Mother could never hurt them.*

15 *Car.* I.

Hamilton remains unactive with the Fleet and Land Forces.

The *Engliſh* Generals in the Intereſt of the *Scots*.

Nor were the *Scots* ignorant of the Complaiſance the reſt of the King's Generals had for them; or rather they were in a Confederacy with thoſe very Generals who made uſe of their Intereſt with his Majeſty to incline him to grant whatever they ſhould ask; for it appears the *Scots* ſent a Letter to each of them, *viz.* to the Earls of *Arundel*, *Eſſex* and *Holland*, to deſire their Mediation, and that *Arundel* and *Holland* actually treated with them without his Majeſties knowledge; *Eſſex* indeed had ſo much honour to ſend the Letter he received to the King before he returned an Anſwer; but it is very evident that

he

he was no leſs prejudiced in their favour than the other two, by his ſubſequent Conduct; and it is very certain they all adviſed his Majeſty to treat with the *Scots*, notwithſtanding they ſtill juſtified every ſtep they had taken; and in purſuance of this Advice, a Negotiation was ſet on foot which ended in a Pacification on the following Terms, *viz.* That his Majeſty ſhould confirm whatever his High Commiſſioner had agreed to, and that for the Future all Eccleſiaſtical Matters ſhould be determined by the Kirk, and ſtate Affairs by the Parliament, which was to be aſſembled for that end on the 20th of *Auguſt* following; when an Act of Oblivion ſhould paſs for all Offences committed before that time. That his Majeſty ſhould withdraw his Fleet and Land-Forces, and reſtore all Perſons their Effects that had been ſeized during theſe Troubles:

A.D. 1639
15 *Car.* I.
They adviſe a Treaty.
The Terms of the Treaty.

On the other Hand the *Scots* promiſed to diſſolve their Tables and Councils, to disband their Troops within eight and forty Hours after publiſhing the Pacification, to reſtore the Fortreſſes they had poſſeſſed themſelves of, and the Goods they had taken. (The King's Generals,'tis obſervable,were his principal Plenipotentiaries at this Treaty.) His Majeſty relying on the Sincerity of the *Scots*, disbanded his Army, and returned to *London*; while the treacherous Covenanters kept theirs on foot, and enter'd into Treaties both with the *French* and *Dutch*, who ſupplied them with Arms and Ammunition; nay, they went ſo far as to entreat the *French* King to take them under his Protection; all which had been concerted between the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Male-

The *Scots* do not perform the Treaty, but demand Aid of the *French*, *Dutch*, &c.

A.D. 1639 Male-contents while the Court was at *York*, and in the North of *England*.

15 *Car.* I.

The Lord *Clarendon*, as has been already hinted, was of Opinion that the King never intended to make War in earneſt, but believed by ſhewing the *Scots* his Army, which was able to have forc'd them to any Conditions, they would have begged pardon for the Diſturbance they had created, and have ſubmitted to his Pleaſure; and this they would certainly have done, ſays the Noble Hiſtorian, had his Majeſty been conſtant in denying their inſolent Demands, but he was driven from his firſt Reſolution, and govern'd by the Advice of thoſe who were either in the Intereſt of his Enemies, or whoſe Fears prompted them to deſire an Accommodation upon any Terms. He had not a Man about him, Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, on whoſe Fidelity and Courage he could rely; and it was too often his Misfortune to ſubmit his own good Judgment, to the ſpecious but deſtructive Advice of others.

It can never be doubted, but that the King was betray'd in this Expedition: When we ſee regular Troops, ſuperior in numbers to their Enemies, retiring before an undiſciplin'd Mob, this could proceed from nothing elſe but Treachery in their Commanders, ſince they never ſo much as pretended the King's Orders for this Conduct, and were induſtrious in ſhifting off the Diſgrace from one to another: And they are the more to be ſuſpected, becauſe when the Civil Wars begun in *England* two or three Years afterwards, two of theſe very Generals, *viz. Eſſex* and *Holland* commanded the Rebels Armies.

The

A.D. 1639
15 Car. I.

The *Scots*, as has been related, did not observe one Article of the late Treaty: On the Contrary, they endeavoured by all possible means, how treacherous and dishonourable soever, to render his Majesties Administration odious to the People; and most of the Privy-Council and Ministers of State in *Scotland*, finding how potent the Faction that opposed the Court was in both Kingdoms, went over to the Covenanters, and became Chiefs of that Party; among whom was the Earl of *Argyle*, who owed his whole Fortunes to his Majesty, having been disinherited by his Father if the King had not interposed in his favour.

The *Scots* ratify their Covenant and all they had done in a General-Assembly.

At length an Assembly being held at *Edinburg*, in pursuance of the late Pacification, where the Earl of *Traquair* was High Commissioner, they confirm'd all that had been done in that tumultuous Assembly held at *Glascow*; particularly the Extirpation of Episcopacy, the Abolishing the five Articles of *Perth*, the High Commission, Liturgy and Book of Canons; and did not only ratify their rebellious Covenant, but ordered it to be sworn and subscribed by every Subject of that Kingdom: All which was consented to by his Majesties High Commissioner. The Parliament meeting afterwards, the latter end of *August*, and finding the Bishops (the third Estate) were rendered incapable of acting by the General-Assembly, were at a Loss for some time how to proceed; for at the Beginning of every Parliament, the Custom was for the King to name eight Bishops, who elected as many Barons, and those Barons so many Burgesses, and those with eight Officers of the Crown constituted a select Committe, whose

*A.D.*1639 whoſe buſineſs was to prepare things for the Parliament, and were called the Lords of the Articles. But now the Biſhops not being permitted to act, it was at length agreed, that his Majeſty ſhould elect eight of the Lay Nobility inſtead of the eight Biſhops formerly appointed by him; and that every other State ſhould chuſe their own Commiſſioners.

15 *Car.* I.

The Parliament confirm it.

This Parliament confirm'd all that had been done in the General-Aſſembly: They inſiſted alſo, that the Coin ſhould be regulated by their Advice, and that no Poſts of Honour or Profit ſhould be conferred on Strangers; (meaning the *Engliſh*, though the *Scots* had the greateſt Share of Places in the Court of *England*) and encroached on the Prerogative in other Inſtances to that degree, that the Earl of *Traquair* thought fit to Prorogue them, and give an Account of their Proceedings to his Majeſty.

And encroach on the Prerogative.

The Parliament on the other hand deputed the Earl of *Dumferlin* and the Lord *Loudon* to attend his Majeſty and juſtify their Conduct. Theſe Noblemen had private Inſtructions alſo, to concert Meaſures with the Faction in *England* concerning the making Proviſion for another War. *Whitlock* relates, that on their Arrival in *London* there was great Reſort to them by all kinds of Male-contents; particularly by thoſe who were Enemies to the Biſhops, all who had been puniſhed by the Star-Chamber, High Commiſſion, or other Courts, and thoſe who were enclin'd to a Republick. With theſe the two *Scotiſh* Noblemen held frequent Conſultation, and they encouraged each other to perſiſt in their Diſaffection.

The

The same *Whitlock* adds, that the Earls of *Essex*, *Bedford* and *Holland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Hampden*, and Mr. *Pym*, were deeply engaged with the Lords *Dumferling* and *Loudon*. And Bishop *Burnet* and some other Writers affirm, that an *English* Nobleman brought these *Scotish* Lords an Engagement signed by most of the Peers of *England*, promising to second the *Scots* if they would renew the War with *England*; which had great Weight with that People, though it appeared afterwards to be a Forgery, and *Welwood*, as I remember, charges this Artifice upon the Lord *Say*; but what Authority he had to fix it upon this Nobleman does not appear.

A.D. 1639
15 *Car.* I.

English Lords conspire with the *Scots* against the King.

A Committee of Council being appointed to hear what the two Deputies from the *Scotish* Parliament had to offer, they refused to enter upon any Business unless the King were there in Person; whereupon his Majesty was pleased to come to the Committee, where *Loudon* in a Speech asserted the Independancy of the Crown of *Scotland*, justified the Transactions of their Assembly and Parliament, and desired their Proceedings might be ratified. The King, instead of giving an Answer to their demand, enumerated the several treasonable Conspiracies the *Scots* were engaged in, particularly their begging the Protection of the *French* King, and inciting him to invade these Kingdoms with a Foreign Army; to prove which his Majesty produced a Letter from the Cabal in *Scotland*, penned by the Lord *Loudon* himself, directed to the *French* King as their Sovereign, and subscribed by the Lords *Ross*, *Montrose*, *Lesly*, *Marr*, *Montgomery*, *Loudon* and *Forrester*, in which

The *Scots* desire the *French* King's Protection, by a Letter under their Hands.

*A.D.*1639 they desired him to give credit to *Colvil*, the Bearer of the Letter, and send them seasonable Assistance.

15 *Car.* I.

Loudon sent to the Tower.

Loudon being examined upon this Letter, answer'd it was written before the Pacification, and was not now intended to be sent, and besides, if he had committed any Offence he ought to be question'd for it in *Scotland*, and not in *England*; but the King however committed the Lord *Loudon* and *Colvil* to the Tower, till he should resolve how to deal with them.

The *Scots* proceed in raising Men and forming Alliances.

In the mean time both *France* and *Holland*, as well as *England*, continued their Correspondence with the *Scotish* Male-contents; and Cardinal *Richlieu* sent over an Agent with Treasure to *Scotland*, to encourage their taking up Arms again, who was present in their Councils of War, and some Supplies were sent them from *Holland*, which enabled them to raise Troops at home, and to make Levies both in *Germany* and *Sweden*.

Lord *Strafford* and *Hamilton* of the Cabinet Council.

The King perceiving another Storm gathering in the North, sent for the Lord *Wentworth* from *Ireland*, on whose Conduct and Bravery he very much relied, and upon his Arrival created him Earl of *Strafford*, and a Knight of the Garter. To this Nobleman, Archbishop *Laud*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*, the King communicated his most secret Thoughts; but it was very unfortunate, the Views and Interests of the Marquis were so very different from those of the other two; *Strafford* and *Laud* were entirely devoted to their Master, and the established Government in Church and State, while *Hamilton* wished for nothing so much as to see the Presbyterian discipline prevail in both Kingdoms

Hamilton has different Views from the other two.

Kingdoms, and there are but too manifeſt Proofs, that he had a greater Regard to his private Intereſts, than to thoſe of his Maſter or the Publick. However, it ſeems he had the Art to conceal his Views, both from the King and the other two Counſellors, by inſinuating, that his Compliances with the Faction in *Scotland* were neceſſary to keep up his Intereſt among them, and ſerve the King his Maſter with more Advantage; nor was his Sincerity queſtion'd by them, notwithſtanding the frequent Intimations given his Majeſty to have an Eye upon *Hamilton*'s Conduct. It was ſtill a greater unhappineſs, that Sir *Henry Vane* was about this time made Secretary of State, and privy to his Majeſties Councils, who appears to have been a rigid Puritan in his Heart, and betrayed all the King's Secrets to his Enemies; to which he was induced, not only in Favour of the Sect of which he was a Member, but out of hatred to the Earl of *Strafford*, who took one of his Titles from *Raby* Caſtle, then the Seat of Sir *Henry Vane*. The Earl of *Strafford* and the Archbiſhop, obſerving how formidable an Enemy the *Scots* were like to prove, by the Levies they made both at home and abroad, and the Correſpondence they held with *France*, *Holland*, and ſeveral other Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, whom the Faction had perſuaded that the King deſign'd nothing leſs than the Subverſion of the Proteſtant Religion, and to introduce Popery, adviſed his Majeſty to call a Parliament, to which neither *Hamilton* or *Vane* were averſe, and indeed the whole Faction were overjoyed when they heard a Parliament was to be ſummoned, foreſeeing they ſhould be able to

*A.D.*1639
15 *Car.* I.

Sir *Henry Vane* trecherous to the King.

The King reſolves to call a Parliament.

*A.D.*1639 — 15 *Car.* I.

diſtreſs his Majeſty, and force him into their Meaſures; while *Strafford* and *Laud* on the other Hand imagin'd that the Nation would have contributed largely to the *Scotiſh* War, and never have ſuffered themſelves to be inſulted by a Nation they contemned. They were not ſufficiently appriſed of the ſtrict Union there was between the Male-contents of both Nations, and what Multitudes they influenced under the ſpecious Pretences of Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties and Properties of their Fellow Subjects.

The Kings Friends advance large Sums for his Service.

Certain it is, never Prince was more generouſly and faithfully ſerved than King *Charles* was by the Friends of the Eſtabliſhment; for it being foreſeen that it would be ſome time before the Supplies they expected from the Parliament could be levied, they agreed to advance conſiderable Sums among themſelves, that the King might not be behind hand with the *Scots* in their Preparations. The Earl of *Strafford* in particular ſubſcribed to lend the King twenty Thouſand Pounds, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ten Thouſand Pounds, the Lord Keeper *Coventry* ten Thouſand Pounds, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Nobility who were devoted to the King, in proportion to their Fortunes; and when the Marquis of *Hamilton* deſired to be excuſed the Contributing any thing, the brave Duke of *Lenox* ſubſcribed forty Thouſand Pounds, and ſaid he would ſerve the King with his Perſon and Purſe, though he had but the Honour of carrying his Cloak, as chearfully as thoſe in the greateſt Truſt, reflecting on the Backwardneſs of his Countryman *Hamilton*, whom the King had loaded with Honours and

The Marquis of *Hamilton* declines lending the King any thing. Duke of *Lenox* ſubcribes 40000 *l.*

and profitable Places, and been more indulgent to, than any Person of that Nation. The Judges and their Officers contributed handsomely, as did the Clergy and several private Gentlemen, but none were more liberal than the *Roman* Catholicks, who were influenced by the Queen, though it is thought this did the King more hurt than good, as it served to confirm weak People in their Suspicions there was a Design to bring in Popery. *A.D.* 1639 — 15 *Car.* I.

The young Prince Palatine came into *England* again about this time, to sollicit the King his Uncle's Interest for his Restoration, and being upon his return to the *Swedish* Army through *France*, was made Prisoner at *Lyons* by the order of Cardinal *Richlieu*. Prince Palatine imprison'd by the *French*.

The *Spaniards* appearing in the Channel this Year, with fifty or sixty Sail of Men of War, and under their Convoy a good Body of Recruits, with Ammunition and Provision for their Troops in the Low-Countries, were met by the grand Fleet of *Holland*, commanded by *Van Trump*, and forced into the *Downs*, where the *Spaniards* hoped to have shelter'd themselves under the Protection of the *English* Fleet; but they thought fit to stand Neuter, and suffer'd the *Dutch* to take and destroy the greatest Part of the *Spanish* Navy. This was looked upon as an intolerable Insult by the Court of *England*, while others pretend the *Spaniards* design'd to have landed in *England*, and that the *Dutch* Admiral had done the Nation good service in beating them off; for my own part, I see no manner of Reason to believe the *Spaniards* had any Design against *England*, but it is very probable the *Dutch* were encouraged to The *Dutch* fall upon the *Spanish* Fleet in the Downs.

A. D. 1639 — 15 *Car* I.

to commit this Outrage on our Coasts by the *English* Commanders themselves, or they durst not have attempted it. The sole Design of raising the Report, that the *Spaniards* intended to invade *England*, was to insinuate that the Court of *England* had sent for them to assist in the Restoration of *Popery*, and thereby render his Majesty odious to the People; and indeed there was scarce any Occurrence happened at this time, but the Faction drew some such malicious Inference from it.

Lord Keeper *Coventry* dies, and is succeeded by Sir *John Finch*.

The latter End of this Year, died the Lord Keeper, Sir *Thomas Coventry*, who had enjoyed that Post fifteen Years, and at last went off the Stage with great Applause, being succeeded by Sir *John Finch*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas; and about the same time died Dr. *John Spotswood*, Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s, Primate and Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, a Prelate of great Parts, Learning and Integrity, but being driven from his Country by furious Fanaticks, died at *London*, and was interr'd in *Westminster-Abby*. His Ecclesiastical History of *Scotland* is in great Esteem with us at this Day.

Archbishop *Spotswood* dies.

A Review of the 12 preceding Years in *Rapin*'s History.

Before I proceed to give an Account of the Transactions of the Year 1640, give me leave to take a short View of the History which goes under the Name of *Rapin*, during the twelve preceding Years.

These Writers, Vol. 10. p. 447. tell us, *That the Privy-Council assumed an absolute Power, and did not look upon itself as obliged to be subject to the Laws: That the Star-Chamber was the most rigorous Court that ever was, the Severity whereof fell chiefly upon those who pretended to dispute the King's Prerogative: That*

the

A.D. 1639
15 Car. I.

the High Commiſſion Court was perfectly of a piece with the Council and Star-Chamber, and under a Colour of putting a ſtop to Schiſm, oppreſſed as Puritans thoſe that refuſed to ſubmit to a deſpotick Power: And that the Judges choſen by the Court, raiſed the Prerogative as high as the King deſired. This Deſcription of theſe Courts and the Judges, is given here to ſhew the King's Fondneſs for arbitrary Power, and that he carried the Prerogative higher than his Predeceſſors; but as theſe Courts were erected long before this Reign, and their Juriſdiction conſtantly acknowledged, even by the Parliament itſelf, I can't ſee that the continuing them proves his Majeſty to be arbitrarily enclin'd, any more than his appointing the twelve Judges, as all his Predeceſſors had done. If theſe Courts or the Judges ſometimes exceeded their Power, they had done it in as high a degree in former Reigns. This therefore is far from proving he deſign'd to act more arbitrarily than his Predeceſſors, as the Authors of *Rapin* falſly charge, eſpecially if we conſider that his Majeſty always demanded the Opinions of the twelve Judges in doubtful Caſes, as to the Legality of his Procedings, and was governed by them, which is more than ſome of his Predeceſſors would be. If they miſled him they were anſwerable for it, they were ever allowed to be the Interpreters both of the common and ſtatute Law, and to whom ſhould the King have applied for Advice if not to them. To ſay that the Judges were appointed by the Crown, and would therefore be influenced by it, is very little to the Purpoſe; have not all Judges before and ſince been ſo appointed, and yet their

A D. 1637 — 15 *Car.* I.

their Judgments have had the Force of Laws, till reverſed or altered by Parliament. The King's acquieſcing therefore in their Determinations, is very far from proving that he had an Intention to govern in a deſpotick manner without regard to the Laws; if he had intended this, he would never have adviſed with the Judges about the Legality of his Proceedings.

The ſame Writers acknowledge, *That the Preſbyterians of that Age gave out, there was a Deſign form'd to re-eſtabliſh Popery; and that the Miniſtry, Archbiſhop* Laud, *and the Biſhops, were the Authors of that Project.* — *That they thought it would be for the Advantage of their Cauſe to throw this Reproach upon the Church of* England, *and that they ſhould ſtrengthen their Party by it: And in this they ſucceeded beyond their Expectations.* At the ſame time the Authors of this Hiſtory are ſo honeſt to make the following Conceſſion in the Name of *Rapin*, which I never expected from them, *p.* 273. *I verily believe, neither the King, nor the Archbiſhop, nor the Miniſters, ever form'd ſuch a Deſign*; [to bring in *Popery*] and yet all the World know, this Calumny was the grand Engine made uſe off by the Faction to deſtroy both the King and State: Had they not terrified the People with the Apprehenſions of *Popery*, all other Differences between the King and his Subjects would ſoon have been accommodated; and I cannot but rejoice to ſee this dark Article at length ſo happily clear'd up, that even the Advocates of the Faction own there was no colour for thoſe ſcandalous Reports by which they deſtroyed King *Charles*, and that the true Reaſon of inventing and propagating thoſe Rumours, was to promote

Aremarkable Conceſſion in *Rapin*.

promote the good old Cauſe, and encreaſe their Faction. A.D. 1639 — 15 Car. I.

The ſame Writers reflect upon the Judges in the Caſe of Ship-Money, *p.* 303. *That they prevaricated in ſuppoſing a Neceſſity where there was none*; but in this they are miſtaken, for the Judges ſuppoſed no ſuch thing: The Writ itſelf declares the Neceſſity, and the Defendant demurred; whereby the Neceſſity was confeſſed, and then the Judges could not avoid giving Judgment as they did; both Sides agreed, that where there was an urgent Neceſſity, and the Kingdom in eminent Danger, the King might provide for the Defence of it, and command the Aſſiſtance of all his Subjects; but *whether it was in danger or not*, was not the Point; the Defendant having confeſſed the Danger by the Demurrer. No body doubts, if a Foreign Enemy was ſailing up the Thames, and ready to poſſeſs himſelf of *London*, but the King might command all Men with their Lives and Fortunes to oppoſe the Deſcent, private Property muſt in ſuch Caſes be waved for a time, and ſubmitted to the publick Good; Ships, Houſes and Proviſions might be deſtroyed or employed in the Defence of the Kingdom, without waiting for the Owners conſent; but I have examined this Matter already in the Tranſactions of the Year 1635, to which I refer my Reader.

Some Conceſſions in *Rapin* relating to the *Scotiſh* War.

There are ſome Conceſſions alſo made by the Authors of *Rapin* in relation to the firſt *Scotiſh* War, which deſerve to be taken notice of, as they demonſtrate that their Oppoſition to his Majeſty was as notorious a Rebellion as ever Subjects were guilty of; though

*A.D.*1639
15 *Car.* I.

though they pretended it was only a noble Struggle for their Religion and Liberties.

It is acknowledged, *p.* 345, *That the King in ſupporting Epiſcopacy there, had the Laws of that Nation on his ſide*; and *p.* 364, *That their General-Aſſembly uſurped a Sovereign Authority over King and Parliament, and abrogated Acts that had been made in relation to Religion*;—— *p.* 391, *That their Parliament declared the King could not prorogue them, and appointed a Committee to ſit after they were prorogued*; and *p.* 395, *That they took upon them to raiſe Troops and levy Taxes to maintain them by their own Authority, after the King had conſented to the Aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, there great Grievance*: Which does not agree with what they affirm, *p.* 398, *That the* Scotiſh *War was begun purely to eſtabliſh Epiſcopacy.*

They aſſert falſly that the *Scots* were Superior to the *Engliſh* in the firſt War.

The Authors of *Rapin* alſo pretend, that the *Scotiſh* Army was ſuperior to that of the *Engliſh* in the firſt *Scotiſh* War, which Contradicts the Lord *Clarendon* and the reſt of our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, and theſe Writers themſelves ſeem to be of another mind, *p.* 368 and 369, where they ſay, *their Hopes were not ſo much built upon their Army as upon their Friends in* England, *and even in the Court itſelf.*

*A.D.*1640
16 *Car.* I.

Forces raiſed in *England* and *Ireland* againſt the *Scots.*

While the People of *England* were buſied in the Elections of their Repreſentatives to ſerve in Parliament, the Lord *Strafford* went over to his Government in *Ireland*, and held a Parliament there, which proved ſo very dutiful to his Majeſty, as to grant him four Subſidies; and both in *England* and *Ireland* Forces were levied to oppoſe the *Scots.*

The

The Parliament meeting on the 13th of *April*, his Majesty made a Speech to both Houses, wherein he said, That never any King had a more Great and Weighty Cause to call his People together than himself, which he had directed the Lord Keeper to declare to them, and required their Attention. *A.D.*1640 16 *Car.* I. The King's Speech to the Parliament.

Then the Lord Keeper made a Speech; wherein he tells them, that they had Reason to rejoice, and with all Humility acknowledge his Majesties Goodness, who notwithstanding the Discouragements he had met with in preceding Assemblies, was pleased graciously to invite them, and all his loving Subjects to a sacred Unity of Hearts and Affections in the Service of him and their Country.——That in former Parliaments, his Majesty had advised with them on foreign and remote Dangers, but they were now summoned to Council him in a Danger that more nearly concerned them, and knocked at their Gates. The *Scots* having forgot the Love and Bounty that his Majesty and his Royal Father had exercised towards that Nation, some Men of *Belial*, some Men of *Zeba* had blown the Trumpet amongst them, and drawn many into Rebellion there, to the utter Destruction of his Majesty's Government. The Lord Keeper's Speech.

That when his Majesty marched against them with an Army last Year, they had the confidence to oppose him with another; and when out of Tenderness to his Subjects Lives, he had consented to a Pacification, and passed by their former Miscarriages, he found they had but prevaricated with him, and amused him with humble Protestations, only to gain

A D. 1640 — 16 *Car.* I.

time to purſue their rebellious Purpoſes to greater Advantage, and ſince his Majeſties return from *Berwick*, by a Writing under the Hands of their principal Leaders, put themſelves under the Protection of a Foreign Power.

His Majeſty therefore found it neceſſary to raiſe a powerful Army, as the only Means left to reduce them to their Duty; and as the Charges of ſuch an Army muſt be very great, he had called a Parliament who had now an Opportunity of Acting with his Majeſty for the common Preſervation of themſelves and their Poſterity; that the Matter would admit of no Delay (the Year being far advanced) and therefore he deſired, that laying aſide all other Debates, they would immediately grant him as many Subſidies as they thought might be proper for ſo great an Action; or it would not be poſſible for him to bring his Army into the Field time enough to oppoſe the Enemy; and indeed had he not on the Credit of his Servants, and Security of his own Eſtate, taken up 300000 *l.* he could not have garriſon'd *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, and made the neceſſary Preparations for the enſuing Campaign.

That to avoid Diſputes about Tonnage and Poundage, his Majeſty declared he had only taken them according to the Example of former Kings, till it ſhould be granted him by Parliament, and made no other Claim to thoſe Duties; he deſired therefore the Act might have a Retroſpect as far as the Beginning of his Reign. This and the Bill of Subſidies his Majeſty preſſed them to diſpatch with all ſpeed, the Situation of his Affairs requiring it; adding that they ſhould have

tim

time allowed them afterwards to consider of their Grievances, which he would willingly hear and redress. *A.D.* 1640 — 16 *Car.* I.

After the Lord Keeper had done speaking, his Majesty assured both Houses, he would perform what the Lord Keeper had promised in his Name, and to convince them that the *Scotish* Rebels were treating with Foreign Powers his Majesty ordered the Letter to be laid before them written by Lord *Loudon* and other *Scotish* Lords to the *French* King, imploring his Protection, which has been recited already. His Majesty confirms the Promises made by the Lord Keeper.

The Commons having chosen Serjeant *Glanvile* for their Speaker, who was approved by his Majesty, several Petitions were presented them, complaining of Ship-Money, Monopolies, and other unusual Methods of raising Money without consent of Parliament; and several others petitioned against the extraordinary Proceedings in the Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission, which occasioned warm Debates: The Anti-Courtiers said, that the Dangers at home were more to be dreaded than those from abroad, and that it was necessary in the first Place to make Examples of those (the Ministry) who had been the Authors of their Miseries; others took Notice of the long Interval of Parliaments, (12 Years) of the Innovations as they called them in Matters of Religion, and the levying Money arbitrarily on the Subject, without the Concurrence of their Representatives, and proposed the joining with the House of Peers in an Address or Remonstrance to the Throne against these Grievances. Petitions against Grievances. Debates thereupon.

There

*A.D.*1640

16 *Car.* I.

There were other Members for moderating things, and propoſed the obliging his Majeſty in his Demands that they might make him in love with Parliaments, and not provoke him entirely to lay them aſide; and the Sollicitor General took Notice of ſome indecent Language that had been uſed by the other Side, reflecting on his Majeſties Adminiſtration, particularly their calling his collecting of Ship-Money an *Abomination*, for that his Majeſty had ſuffered the Legality of it to be fairly debated before all the Judges of *England*, in the Caſe of Mr. *Hampden*, and was by their Judgment as legally poſſeſſed of that Right as of any other.

The Houſe afterwards fell upon the tumultuous Proceedings in the laſt Parliament, inquiring into the Proſecution of Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Hollis*, and the other impriſon'd Members, and expreſſed the higheſt Deteſtation of Sir *John Finch* the Speaker, who had refuſed to put the Queſtion, and left the Chair contrary to the Direction of the Houſe. But this Matter being referred to a Committee, the Chairman reported that Sir *John Finch* did not ſay he *would* not put the Queſtion, but that he *durſt* not put it; that he left the Chair not to diſobey the Houſe, but to obey his Majeſty. Whereupon the Houſe voted, that it was a breach of Privilege for the Speaker, not to obey the Command of the Houſe, and it was moved that this ſhould be repreſented to his Majeſty.

The Parliament having ſat near a Week without taking the Supply into Conſideration, his Majeſty ordered both Houſes to attend him in the Banquetting-Houſe at *White-hall*, where the Lord Keeper made them a Speech

in

in his Majeſties Preſence, reminding them that the Reaſon of their Aſſembling was to conſider of a Supply, and his Majeſties Neceſſities were ſuch, that if the Supply was not ſpeedy, it would be of no uſe at all, for the Army was now on their March, and and ſtood his Majeſty in one hundred Thouſand Pounds a Month; and if they did not aſſiſt him to proſecute the Enterprize, his Deſigns muſt be defeated, and all the Charges he had been at would be thrown away; that his Majeſty did not expect they ſhould raiſe the whole at once, but ſuch a Supply, (as without which) the preſent Charge would be loſt, and the Deſign fruſtrated, a Deſign that tended to the infinite Good of the Kingdom and the Preſervation of them all; and when this was done, they ſhould have time to preſent their Grievances, and receive ſuch an Anſwer to them as the whole Kingdom ſhould rejoice in.

A.D. 1640
16 *Car.* I.
A Speech to haſten the Supply.

That his Majeſty had made no Advantage of Ship-Money, but expended great Sums beſides in fitting out his Navy for their Preſervation and the Glory of the Nation: That Tonnage and Poundage was formerly given for the ordinary Guard of the Seas, but it was far from being ſufficient to defend the Nation againſt the Inſults of our Neighbours, now all the Princes of *Europe* had ſo encreaſed their Naval Forces; and the *Algerine* Pirates had fitted out a Fleet of ſixty Sail, with which they had taken ſome very rich Prizes, and threatned the Ruin of our Commerce.

His Majeſty deſired to reap no Advantage he ſaid by Ship-Money, or Tonnage and Poundage, and left them to be ſettled as they

ſaw

*A D.*1640 saw fit for the common Good, assuring them that they could propound nothing for the Security of their Liberties and Properties, which his Majesty would not consent to.

16 *Car.* I.

His Majesty offers to secure Liberty and Property.

But this Speech had no better Effect on the Commons than the former, for being returned to their House, they charged the Ministry and the Clergy with a Design to establish Arbitrary Power, and insisted that they ought first to see the Subjects Liberties and Properties restored, before they consider'd of a Supply. The King being appriz'd of the Resolution of the Commons, came suddenly to the House of Lords, and acquainted them that his Necessities were such as would admit of no delay. That whatever the Lord Keeper had promised, he would perform. That the Matter was no more than who should be first trusted, and that as their trusting him was but in part, he desired their Lordships would dispose the Commons to give Precedence to the Supply; which they soon after endeavoured to do at a Conference. But the Commons were so far from complying either with the King or the Lords, that they declared this Proposal of a Supply by the Peers was a breach of their Privileges; for all Aids they insisted were to be moved first in the Lower-House. In the mean time they ordered a Protest to be drawn up and sent to the Lords on this Subject, and that all other Proceedings in the House should be suspended in the mean time.

The Commons offended that the Lords moved for a Supply.

The King thereupon sent a Message to the Commons by Sir *Henry Vane*, then Secretary of State, and Treasurer of the Houshold; wherein he took notice, *That a Difference had arisen between the two Houses which retarded the*

The King's Message to the Commons by Sir *Hen. Vane.*

the great Affairs of the Kingdom, at a time when a Foreign Enemy was ready to Invade it; and as he underſtood the Payment of Ship-Money was not willingly ſubmitted to by the People, though it had been adjudged his Right, to manifeſt his good Affection to his Subjects, he made this Propoſition; That if the Parliament would grant him twelve Subſidies to be paid in three Years, he would releaſe all his Title or Pretence to Ship-Money, in ſuch a Manner as the Parliament ſhould adviſe.

A.D. 1640
16 Car. I.

The Commons taking this Meſſage into Conſideration the next Day, a Majority of the Houſe ſeemed averſe to the granting ſo large a Sum; whereupon Mr. *Hampden*, who had made himſelf ſo popular by ſtanding Trial with the King in the Caſe of Ship-Money, deſired the Queſtion might be put; *Whether the Houſe would conſent to the Propoſition made by the King*: Which the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, would have been ſure to have found a Negative from all who thought the Sum too great, or were not pleaſed that it ſhould be given in Recompence for Ship-Money. (Apprehending that this might be taken as an Acknowledgment of the King's Right to it) But when ſeveral called to have the Queſtion put, Mr. Serjeant *Glanvile* the Speaker, roſe up and endeavoured to perſuade the Houſe to comply with the King's deſire for the good of the Nation, and to reconcile him to Parliaments for ever, which this ſeaſonable Teſtimony of their Affections would infallibly do, making it manifeſt how very inconſiderable a Sum twelve Subſidies amounted to, (being about 800000 *l.* and this to be three Years in paying.) He told them he had computed what he was to pay of thoſe twelve

Debates thereupon.

A.D. 1640 — 16 *Car.* I.

Subſidies, and when he named the Sum, being known to be poſſeſſed of a great Eſtate, it ſeemed not worth any further Deliberation: But at the ſame time he let fall ſome ſharp Expreſſions againſt Ship-Money, declaring it to be illegal, which the noble Hiſtorian obſerves, was neceſſary to reconcile the Affections of the Houſe to the Matter in Queſtion; and that never any Speech more united the Inclinations of a popular Aſſembly to the People, and if the Queſtion had been then put, it might have been carried for the King; but after a ſhort Silence, ſome Men expreſſing their diſlike, the other Party recovered their Courage and called again with ſome earneſtneſs for Mr. *Hampden*'s Queſtion.

Mr. *Hide* (afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*) foreſeeing that the King's Propoſition would be rejected, ſtood up and deſired that the Queſtion might not be put as it had been ſtated by Mr. *Hampden*, for that moſt of them might be for giving a Supply, though not in the Proportion or on the Terms it was demanded; therefore he propoſed the Queſtion might be put only upon giving the King a Supply, which being carried in the Affirmative, another Queſtion might be put upon the Proportion and the Manner; and the Lord *Clarendon* adds, that the Queſtion would probably have been put and carried in the Affirmative, had not Sir *Henry Vane* aſſured the Houſe, that the putting and carrying Mr. *Hide*'s Queſtion could be of no uſe, for that he was moſt ſure, and had Authority to tell them, that if they ſhould paſs a Vote for giving the King a Supply, if it was not in the Proportion and Manner propoſed in his Majeſty's Meſſage, it would not be

Sir *Henry Vane*'s Treachery ruins the King's Affairs and occaſions a Diſſolution.

be accepted, and therefore desired the Question might be laid aside; which the Sollicitor General urging also upon Sir *Henry Vane's* Authority, and the other Privy Counsellors saying nothing, though they were much displeased with Secretary *Vane's* Averment, the Matter was dropp'd, and the House adjourned till next Morning. But this was not the worst, both Sir *Henry Vane* and the Sollicitor *Herbert*, made such a Representation of the ill Humour and Affection of the House, assuring his Majesty, that if they came together again, they would pass such a Vote against Ship-Money, as would blast that Revenue and other Branches of the Receipt, and wrought so far upon the King by these Insinuations, that he went next Morning (the 5th of *May*) to the House of Peers and dissolved the Parliament. What followed in the next Parliament, adds the noble Historian, made it believed that Sir *Henry Vane* acted that part maliciously to bring all into Confusion; he being known to have an implacable hatred against the Earl of *Strafford*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whose Destruction was then upon the Anvil. *A.D.* 1640 16 *Car.* I.

A greater Damp could not have seized on the Spirits of the whole Nation, according to the same noble Writer, than this Dissolution caused; only in the Countenances of those who had most opposed his Majesty, there appeared a marvellous Serenity; these could not conceal the Joy of their Hearts, for they knew enough of what was to come, to conclude, that the King would be shortly compelled to call another Parliament, and they were as sure that so many unbiass'd Men would never be elected again. And the King when he was better inform'd of the The Joy of the Faction upon this Rupture.

*A.D.*1640 Temper and Duty of the Houſe of Commons, and that they had voted a Supply if
16 *Car.* I. Sir *Henry Vane* had not hindred it by declaring poſitively his Majeſty would refuſe it; was heartily ſorry for what he had done, declaring with great Anger, that he had never given him ſuch Authority, and that the Secretary knew well the giving him *any Supply* would have been welcome to him; becauſe the Reputation of his Subjects aſſiſting him at that Juncture, was all that he look'd for and conſidered, and enter'd into Conſultation the ſame Day or the next, whether he might not by his Proclamation recall the Parliament to meet again; but this was found impracticable.

Whitlock confirms *Vane*'s Treachery.

Whitlock in his Memoirs, *p.* 32. agrees with the Lord *Clarendon*, that the King was betrayed by Sir *Henry Vane*, but differs with that noble Writer in ſome Circumſtances; for *Whitlock* ſays, that Sir *Harry* was ordered by the King to demand but ſix Subſidies, though he inſiſted on twelve, and that *Vane* demanded twelve on purpoſe to raiſe the Animoſity of the Houſe, which had its effect. It ſeems *Vane* was of the *Scotiſh* Faction, who were determined to throw all into Confuſion, rather than any Supplies ſhould be granted againſt their Bretheren in the North. They found the King ready to comply with the Parliament, and to give any Security they ſhould propoſe for preventing the Invaſion of their Liberties and Properties, but this was not what that Party deſired; their View was to deſtroy the Church and Monarchy, and to eſtabliſh Preſbytery and a Republican Form of Government in the Room of them, which that Parliament would

would never have done, and therefore the Faction tryed all ways, and ventured every thing to create a Breach between the King and the Commons. They were conſcious if his Majeſty diſſolved this Parliament he would create himſelf more Enemies by it, and encreaſe their Party, and that before another was choſen, the *Scots* would be in a Condition to Influence ſeveral parts of *England* in their Elections, which occaſioned that Joy the Lord *Clarendon* obſerved in the Faces of that Party on this unhappy Diſſolution. But it is obſervable, that the Treachery of Sir *Henry Vane* on this Occaſion, and his Artifices to get the Parliament diſſolved, are ſcarce mention'd by the Writers of *Rapin*, who were ſenſible that all the World muſt have deteſted the Falſhood and Hypocriſy of thoſe pretended Saints if they had not concealed this accurſed Policy of theirs; and this Omiſſion is another very ſtrong Evidence of the Partiality of thoſe Writers. I refer the Reader to their 10*th Vol. p.* 417, *Tindal*'s Tranſlation for his Satisfaction in this particular.

A.D 1640
16 *Car.* I.

Rapin conceals the Treachery of *Vane*.

The Convocation was aſſembled, as uſually, at the Meeting of the Parliament, and had voted his Majeſty ſix Subſidies, amounting to twenty Thouſand Pounds each, to be paid in ſix Years; but the Act not being perfected, and the King's Occaſions for Money being very great, his Majeſty ordered the Archbiſhop to continue the Convocation after the Parliament was up: To which the Archbiſhop anſwered, this would probably be objected to, the Convocation uſually riſing when the Parliament did. Whereupon the Judges were conſulted and delivered the follow-

The Convocation ſit after the Parliament.

A.D. 1640

16 *Car.* I.

The Judges Opinion thereupon.

following Opinion, *viz. That the Convocation being called by the King's Writ, did continue until it was dissolved by Writ, or a Commission under the Great Seal, notwithstanding the Parliament was dissolved.* However it was thought fit to renew the Commission according to the Tenor of the 25th *Hen.* VIII. as was done in the 29th of *Eliz.* and thereupon the Convocation finished their Act of Subsidies, and framed seventeen new Canons; by one of which the Clergy were obliged to swear that they approved the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*; that they would not attempt the bringing in any Popish Doctrine, nor give their Consent to alter the Government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, *&c.* as it was now established, or to subject it to the Usurpations and Superstitions of the See of *Rome*; other Canons were made for asserting the Regal Power, suppressing the Growth of *Popery* and *Socinianism*, and for regulating the Conversation of the Clergy, all of them being approved by the Privy Council and the Judges, and the Convocation was dissolved on the 29th of *May*. Before they separated the Faction by their Libels which *Lilburn* dispersed, so incensed the Multitude against the Members, that the King was forced to place a Guard about *Westminster-Abby*, where they sat, for their Security; but as their Rage was principally bent against Archbishop *Laud*, five hundred of the Mob surrounded *Lambeth* House in the Night time, and endeavoured to force open the Gates; but his Grace having had some notice of their Design, gave them such a warm Reception, that they retired from his

Canons made, and a new Oath required of the Clergy.

The Rabble attempt to break into *Lambeth* House.

his Palace in great Confuſion, and the next Day ſeveral of the Rioters were committed to Priſon; however only one of them was tryed and executed, the reſt being reſcued by their Party, who broke open the Priſons where they were confined. *A.D.* 1640 / 16 *Car.* I.

In the mean time the *Scots* had vaſtly encreaſed their Forces, and threatned a ſudden Invaſion; whereupon the King adviſed with a ſelect Number of the Privy Council, on the Situation of his Affairs. The Perſons he moſt relied on, were Archbiſhop *Laud*, the Earl of *Strafford*, the Lord *Cottington*, the Lord Treaſurer Biſhop *Juxton*, the Earl of *Northumberland* General of the Army, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*; to whom were joined the two Secretaries of State, *Windebank* and *Vane*. Theſe were called the Cabinet Council, and by the Diſaffected, the Juncto, by way of Reproach, though ſeveral of them were faſt Friends to the Malecontents, particularly *Hamilton* and *Vane*, the one betraying the King to the *Scots*, as the other did to the *Engliſh* Malecontents, though it is amazing to find *Vane* in the Cabinet after he had play'd ſo treacherous a part in getting the laſt Parliament diſſolved, of which the King ſeemed very ſenſible. It was unfortunate alſo that *Vane* who entertain'd a mortal Antipathy to *Strafford*, and the Lord *Cottington* who was no leſs prejudiced againſt *Laud*, ſhould be introduced into this Council; and laſtly that the Earl of *Northumberland* ſhould be conſtituted General of the Army, who was never hearty in the King's Cauſe. As to his Majeſty's laying aſide the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Holland*, which the Lord *Clarendon* ſeems to lament, it is highly probable he was by this time

The Perſons that form'd the Cabinet Council.

Some of them betray'd his Majeſty.

*A.D.*1640 — 16 *Car.* I.

time fully convinced of their Inclination to the Faction that oppoſed him, and admitting this, his Majeſty could not think it proper to truſt them with the Command of his Forces a ſecond Time. But however divided the Cabinet Council might be, it was carried by a Majority, that a powerful Army ſhould be raiſed ſufficient to carry on an offenſive War againſt the *Scots*, and in order to this it was propoſed to borrow an hundred Thouſand Pounds of the City of *London*; but the Citizens being many of them of the *Scotiſh* Faction, refuſed to lend it, they had been provoked alſo by a Judgment given againſt them in the Star-Chamber, whereby they were deprived of their Plantation of *London-Derry* in *Ireland*, and their Agents fined fifty Thouſand Pounds. The Citizens indeed pretended they were poor, but it is obſerved there never was a time when they were richer, and beſides we find they were able not long after to raiſe larger Sums for the Subſiſtance of their Friends the *Scots*. However, ſuch was the Affection of the Nobility and Gentry to his Majeſty at this time, that in three Weeks they contributed Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds towards the *Scotiſh* Expedition, and actually paid it into the Exchequer; which enabled his Majeſty to raiſe an Army of twenty Thouſand Men, the Command whereof was given to the Earl of *Northumberland* the General, as has been hinted already; the Earl of *Strafford* being made Lieutenant General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horſe.

The Citizens refuſe to lend the King 100,000 *l.*

The Nobility, *&c.* raiſe the King 300,000 *l.*

An Army rais'd.

The Generals.

The *Scots* on the other hand to facilitate their Invaſion of *England*, and encourage their Faction there, publiſhed a Remonſtrance

The *Scotiſh* Declaration on the Invaſion of *England*.

ſtrance, declaring that they were deprived of all Opportunities of repreſenting their juſt Grievances to his Majeſty, by the Artifices of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Strafford*, who uniting with the *Papiſts* about his Majeſty, had the ſole Adminiſtration of Affairs in their hands, and aimed at nothing leſs than the Subverſion of the Government, and the introducing of *Popery* in both Kingdoms; and in another Paper the *Scots* aſſured the good People of *England*, that they had no Intention to ſpoil their Goods or ravage the Country, but humbly to Petition his Majeſty to call a Parliament in *England*, in order to bring the Archbiſhop and the Earl to Juſtice, who were the Authors of all the Miſeries the *Scots* and *Engliſh* ſuffered, and that they only made uſe of the Sword to clear the way to the Throne, and remove thoſe Inſtruments of Tyranny and Oppreſſion. In another Libel they pretended to demonſtrate from the Archbiſhop's own Writings, that he intended to introduce Popery and Arminianiſm, and to ſubvert the Goſpel and the Religion eſtabliſhed in *England* by Law. *A.D.* 1640 — 16 *Car.* I.

While Preparations were thus making on both Sides to begin the War, the Queen was brought to Bed on the eighth of *July*, at *Oatlands* in *Surrey*, of another Son, baptized on the 22d of the ſame Month, by the Name of *Henry*, and had the Title of Duke of *Gloceſter* conferred upon him; about which time the King receiving Advice that the *Scots* were about to penetrate into *England*, order'd the Army to march Northwards, and Rendezvous at *York*, following them in Perſon on the 20th of *Auguſt*. Prince *Henry* born. The King Marches with the Army to *York*.

*A.D.*1640
16 *Car.* I.

His Declaration against the *Scots.*

Soon after his Majeſty iſſued a Proclamation, wherein he ſhews he had by all imaginable Methods of Mildneſs and Clemency endeavoured to reduce his rebellious Subjects of *Scotland* to Obedience, who under pretence of reforming Religion, had ſhaken off regal Government, and were now about to invade *England*; he declared therefore, that all ſuch *Scots* as ſhould enter *England* in a hoſtile Manner were Rebels and Traytors; however, he was ready to Pardon them, provided they would acknowledge their Offences and lay down their Arms.

The *Scots* corrupt ſome of the Officers and Soldiers of the King's Army.

But the *Scots* it ſeems had corrupted great part of the Officers and Soldiers of the King's Army, who declared they would not fight to maintain the Power and Pride of the Biſhops; they had been made to believe that this War was only intended to eſtabliſh the Tyranny of the Biſhops, and it was accordingly by ſome, ſtiled *Bellum Epiſcopale.* The *Scots* therefore well knowing they had nothing to fear from the *Engliſh* Army, and that ſome of the *Engliſh* Miniſters themſelves were in their Intereſt, order'd their Army under the Command of General *Leſly* to enter *England*, which he did without Oppoſition on the 21ſt of *Auguſt.*

They enter *England.*

The Account Biſhop *Burnet* gives of the March of the *Scots* into *England*, in his poſthumous Hiſtory, may have a great deal of Truth in it, and contains ſome remarkable particulars which other Writers have not mentioned. The *Scots*, ſays that Right Reverend Author, marched with a very ſorry Equipage, every Soldier carried a Week's Proviſion of Oatmeal, and they had a Drove of Cattle with them for their Food; they had

Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of the *Scotch* Invaſion.

had also an Invention of Guns of white Iron, tinned and done about with Leather, and corded so, that they cou'd serve for two or three Discharges; they were light and were carried on Horses, and when they came to *Newburn*, the *English* Army that defended the Ford, was surprised with a Discharge of Artillery, some thought it Magick, and all were put in such Disorder, that the whole Army did run with so great Precipitation, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had a Command in it, did not stick to own, that till he passed the *Tees* his Legs trembled under him; this struck many of the Enthusiasts of the King's side, as much as it exalted the *Scots*, who were next Day possessed of *Newcastle*, and so were Masters, not only of *Northumberland* and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, but of the Coalries, by which if they had not been in a good Understanding with the City of *London*, they could have distressed them extremely. But all the Use the City made of this was, to raise a great Outcry, and to complain of the War, since it was now in the Power of the *Scots* to Starve them; upon that, Petitions were sent from the City, and from some Counties to the King, praying a Treaty with the *Scots*. The Lord *Wharton* and the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick* undertook to deliver some of these, which they did, and were clapped up upon it. A Council of War was held, and it was resolved on, as the Lord *Wharton* told me, to shoot them at the Head of the Army as movers of Sedition. This was chiefly press'd by the Earl of *Strafford*, Duke *Hamilton* spoke nothing till the Council rose, and then he asked *Strafford* if he was sure of the

*A.D.*1640 Army, who seemed surprized at the Question; but he upon enquiry understood that very probably a General Mutiny, if not a total Revolt would have followed, if any such Execution had been attempted. This Success of the *Scots* ruin'd the King's Affairs, and by it the Necessity of the Union of the two Kingdoms may appear very evident, for nothing but a superior Army, able to beat the *Scots*, can hinder their doing this at any time; and the seizing the Coalries must immediately bring the City of *London* into great Distress. This is Bishop *Burnet*'s Account of the Invasion of *England* by the *Scots*, in the Year 1640, from whence 'tis natural to observe, that Soldiers bred on cold barren Mountains, where most of the Necessaries of Life are wanting, may effect Wonders at a very small Expence; could the *British* Troops in the late Wars with *France* have been persuaded to march in this Manner, without any other Provision than a Bag of Oatmeal at their Backs, as these North Britons did upon this Enterprize, twelve Pence in the Pound would have defrayed the whole Expence of the War, and we had been too hard for the *French* even in point of Parsimony: what may not a People undertake who can make Breakfast, Dinner and Supper upon a little Oatmeal stirred in the first Puddle they come at? But possibly the Expectation of a sudden Change for *English* Beef, and a less rigorous Climate, gave a particular Relish to their Watergruel, and inspired them with a more than ordinary Resolution. I don't wonder that according to the Credulity of those times, the *English* apprehended there was Witchcraft in the

16 *Car.* I.

Remarks on Bishop *Burnet*'s Relation.

Case

Caſe when the *Scots* attacked them; for was an Army ever known before to march without Baggage, and attended too by a Train of Artillery without Carriages? Any Man alive would conclude the Devil aſſiſted them; and, for ought I know, our Author rightly enough imputes the Defeat at *Newburn* to ſuch Apprehenſions as theſe. *A.D.* 1640 16 *Car.* I.

As to the Advice of the Earl of *Strafford* for ſhooting the Lord *Wharton* and the Lord *Howard*, who undertook to deliver Petitions from the Diſaffected for a Treaty with the *Scots*; this ſeems to be a piece of ſecret Hiſtory wholly our Authors own, as well as what he adds, that it was the Fear of a Mutiny alone that prevented their Execution; they were *clapt up*, 'tis true, according to our Authors Phraſe, when he would inſinuate that any of the Brethren were unjuſtly committed, but whether they would have met with milder Treatment under any Government, when they were known to have Correſponded with the Enemy, and promoted the Invaſion of their Country, I very much queſtion.

That the Succeſs of the *Scots* was the Ruin of the King's Affairs, it is not to be doubted: But why our Author ſhould fall ſo ſeverely upon the whole Nation, his Friends and Countrymen too, as to affirm, *that a Military Power was neceſſary to keep them within the Bounds of their Duty*, and inſinuate, that they had no Notion of ſubmitting to their Governors for Conſcience ſake, is not eaſily to be conceived, nor are they much obliged to him for this Suggeſtion; even a Stranger would have given them better Quarter. Another Man probably would have aſcrib'd the Inſurrection

*A.D.*1640 16 *Car.* I.

rection to the Arts of designing Men, to a Spirit of Enthusiasm that reign'd at that time, or some unforeseen Accidents, rather than to *a constant Disposition in that People to rebel.* But to return to the Fight at *Newburn*. The Lord *Conway* seemed determined to defend the Banks of the *Tees*, till the *Scots* fir'd their Canon, but he no sooner perceived they had great Guns with them, which he imagined they wanted, but he abandon'd his Post and fled to *Durham* with the utmost Precipitation. This, says the Lord *Clarendon*, was the most shameful and confounding Flight that was ever heard of; our Foot making no less haste from *New-Castle*, than our Horse from *Newburn*, both leaving the Honour and a great deal of the Wealth of the Kingdom to those who had not Confidence enough (notwithstanding the Evidence they had of our Fears) to possess the Town in two Days after, not believing it possible that such a Place which was able to have maintain'd the War alone for some time, could be so kindly quitted to them. The Lord *Conway* never after turning his Face towards the Enemy, or doing any thing like a Commander, tho' his Troops were quickly brought together again without the loss of a dozen Men, and were so ashamed of their flight, that they were very willing as well as able to have taken their Revenge on the Enemy, who would hardly believe their own Success, till they were assured that the Lord *Conway* with all his Army rested quietly at *Durham*, and then they presumed to enter *New-Castle*.

The Defeat at *Newburn*

New-Castle abandon'd by the *Scots*.

The

The Earl of *Northumberland*, General of the *Engliſh* Army, was not a Witneſs to this Diſgrace, he had fallen ſick ſome time before, and his Phyſicians declared his Life to be in danger; whereupon his Majeſty had excuſed his taking the Field; and what was ſtill more unfortunate, the Earl of *Strafford*, the Lieutenant General, on whoſe Conduct the King principally relied, was taken ill at the ſame time. However, Sick as he was, when he heard how ſwiftly the *Scots* advanced, he came to the Army at *Durham*, where it was reſolved at a Council of War to abandon the Counties of *Durham* and *Northumberland*, and retire to the Confines of *Yorkſhire* with the *Engliſh* Army; and the *Scots* immediately laid thoſe two Counties under Contribution, obliging them to raiſe Eight Hundred and Fifty Pounds a Day for the Subſiſtence of their Army, beſides Forage and Fewel, on pain of Military Execution, or in other Words, to ſave themſelves from being Burnt and Plunder'd; though they had promiſed in their Declarations to do no manner of Damage to the Subjects of *England*, and aſſured the People *they were come for aw their Gudes*, which they found afterwards to be true in the worſt Senſe of the Words.

A.D. 1640
16 *Car.* I.

Northumberland, &c laid under Contribution.

But notwithſtanding the incredible Succeſs of the *Scots* in the Beginning of this Enterprize, they did not think fit to follow the King's Army into *Yorkſhire*, which proceeded (tis ſaid from an Aſſurance they ſhould be able to effect much greater things by a Treaty, than by the Terror of their Arms. They found themſelves in warm Quarters, abounding with Plenty of all things, and had

*A.D.*1640 16 *Car.* I. had nothing to do but to lie ſtill and rejoice in the happy Exchange they had made, while their Friends in *England* did their Buſineſs for them; only to give the Faction in *England* ſome colour to appear in their behalf, they thought fit to preſent his Majeſty with Petition after Petition; wherein they demanded that the Acts of their late Parliament, and General-Aſſembly, might be ratified, and that his Majeſty would aſſemble a Parliament in *England*; that *Edinburgh* and other Fortreſſes might be put into the Hands of their Party; that their Countrymen in *England* and *Ireland* might not be obliged to take any Oath inconſiſtent with the Covenant; and that the common Incendiaries (Archbiſhop *Laud*, Earl of *Strafford*, &c.) might be brought to Juſtice. Theſe Petitions of the *Scots* were ſeconded by one from the Citizens of *London*, (who ſeemed to act in Conſert with them) complaining of the Levying the Cuſtom-Houſe Duties, Ship-Money, Monopolies, Innovations in Religion; particularly the new Canons, and the Oath required of the Clergy, of the Concourſe of *Papiſts* about the Court, the Loſs of Trade, eſpecially with *Newcaſtle*, from whence only Coals were brought to the City, concluding with a Deſire that the Parliament might be called as ſoon as poſſible to remedy theſe Miſchiefs. The Earls of *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, and ten more Peers, moſt devoted to the Faction, alſo petition'd the King for the ſpeedy calling of a Parliament; as did the Militia of *Yorkſhire*.

The inſolent Petitions of the *Scots*.

Of the City of *London*.

The Peers aſſembled at *York*.

While the King was thus ſurrounded with Difficulties, an Army of *Scotiſh* Puritans inſulting

insulting him, and his own not to be relied on, his very Council unfaithful, and the City of *London* with a great Part of the Kingdom in a Conspiracy with the *Scots* to destroy both the Church and Monarchy, and at the same time his Treasury totally exhausted. It was thought fit in this extremity to summon a General Council of the Peers to meet at *York*, who arriving there on the 24th of *September*, his Majesty acquainted them, that in imitation of some of his Predecessors, on sudden Invasions and Dangers, he had assembled them to advise him what was fit to be done; particularly, what answer he should give to the Petitions of the Rebels, and how to subsist his own Army till the Parliament should meet, for he had already given orders for assembling the Parliament on the third of *November*.

A D. 1640
16 *Car.* I.

The King requires their Advice.

The Peers hereupon advised his Majesty to appoint certain Commissioners to treat with the *Scots*; and accordingly six Earls and as many Barons were nominated, most of them devoted to the Faction, his Majesty being advised to pitch upon those who would be most *acceptable* to the *Scots*, and *Rippon* was agreed to be the Place of Treaty, the *Scots* refusing to come to *York*. The Commissioners appointed by the *Scots* were Men of inferior Quality, two of them *Presbyterian* Preachers, particularly *Henderson* and *Johnston*, though it was observed, these Holy Men rail'd at nothing so much as Clergymens intermedling in civil Affairs; the only Noblemen among the *Scotish* Commissioners were the Lords *Dumferling* and *Loudon*, to whom the Earl of *Rothes* was afterwards added; but not to trouble the Reader with

A Treaty with the *Scots*.

*A.D.*1640 every Circumſtance in this Treaty, I ſhall proceed to recite the Subſtance of the principal Articles agreed on, which were theſe, *viz.* That there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms, each Party retaining what he was poſſeſſed off. That the Payment of the Eight Hundred and Fifty Pounds *per diem* to the *Scots* ſhould be continued, the Counties of *Weſtmorland* and *Cumberland* contributing their ſhare towards it, becauſe they lay equally expoſed with *Durham* and *Northumberland*; and that the River *Tee*'s ſhould be the common Boundary, beyond which neither Army ſhould advance. That there ſhould however be a free Trade between the two Nations, and that for the ſettling other Matters in diſpute, the Treaty ſhould be adjourned to *London*, which laſt Article was of more Importance to the *Scots* than all the reſt, for here they knew they ſhould have an Opportunity of concerting their Meaſures with their Friends in the Parliament of *England* and the City of *London*; nor were the King's Commiſſioners ignorant of their Views, or indeed ſollicitous to oppoſe them, being of much the ſame Stamp. The only thing the Peers did for the Service of his Majeſty, was the Borrowing 200000 *l.* of the City of *London*, for the Subſiſtence of his Army during the Continuance of the Treaty, which the Peers promiſed ſhould be repaid out of the firſt Supplies raiſed in Parliament.

16 *Car.* I.

The Articles agreed on.

Earl of *Montroſe* comes over to the King.

In the mean time there were ſome brave Men among the *Scots*, who having diſcovered the Deſign of the Faction to alter the Government, thought fit to quit that Party, and return to their Duty, particularly the celebrated Marquis of *Montroſe*, who ſent a Letter

Letter from the *Scotiſh* Camp with great Expreſſions of Loyalty and Affection for his Majeſty, but ſo very treacherous were thoſe about the King at this time, that a Copy of it was immediately ſent back to *Leſly* the *Scotiſh* General, who charging *Montroſe* with correſponding with the Enemy, the Earl boldly anſwer'd, *Where is the Man that durſt reckon his King an Enemy*; nor did the *Scots* think fit to try him, for this Correſpondence as they once deſign'd. But to proceed. *A.D.* 1640 — 16 *Car.* I.

Scotiſh Commiſſioners come to *London*.

The great Council of Peers at *York* being diſſolved on the 28th of *October*, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners came up to *London*, where they were highly careſſed and treated, and in a manner adored by the factious Citizens. They frequented the Diſſenting Congregations, and were followed thither by Crowds of People, exclaiming againſt the Church of *England*, as Tyrannical and Antichriſtian, and a little before the Meeting of the Parliament, ſome Thouſands of the Sectaries aſſembling in a riotous Manner, forc'd their way into the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s, where the High-Commiſſion Court then ſat, and tore down the Seats and Benches, crying out *no Biſhop, no High-Commiſſion.*

Factious Tumults in *London*.

Elections influenced by the Party.

Great efforts were making at the ſame time by the Faction, to elect ſuch Members of the Houſe of Commons as might favour the Schemes they had laid. They exclaimed againſt ſuch Candidates as had any dependance on the Court, or were Friends to the eſtabliſhed Church, and recommended thoſe who were notorious for their Diſaffection to the King and Clergy; and the City of *London* ſo influenced ſeveral little Corporations, that they choſe Perſons recommended to them

A.D. 1640 — 16 *Car.* I.

from thence, for their Oppoſition to the Government, whom they had never ſeen or heard off. However, the Lord *Clarendon* relates, that with all their Artifices and Endeavours, the Puritans could not make a third Part of the Houſe of Commons; that there were ſtill many great and worthy Men as eminent as any Age ever produced, but obſerves, *That moſt of them came with Reſentments, which though grounded on juſt Reaſons, proved too ſtrong for their Wiſdom and Foreſight, and helped to overwhelm them and their Friends in the common Ruin.* By which I preſume he means, that they joined with the Faction to gratify their private Revenge, till they brought things into Confuſion, and when they would have made a ſtand, found it too late, they were born down by a Torrent of popular Fury. As theſe honeſt Men knew themſelves to be at firſt a Majority in the Houſe, they never dream'd of being made Inſtruments of deſtroying the Conſtitution; they did not know perhaps, that all the Sectaries had already furniſhed themſelves and their Families with Arms, and propoſed by their armed Multitudes to influence the Votes of the Commons, as it is evident they afterwards did, whereby many honeſt Members were deterred from coming to the Houſe, and others that did come, were induced to Vote againſt their Judgment.

The Heads of the Faction in both Houſes.

The ſame noble Writer informs us, that the firſt and chief Movers of thoſe prodigious Alterations which ſoon after followed, were (in the upper Houſe) the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Kimbolton*, afterwards Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*; and in the lower Houſe, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*,

Hampden, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Fiennes*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Jun. and Mr. *Denzil Holles*, a a younger Brother of the Earl of *Clare*'s. Theſe obſerved with all imaginable Jealouſy, ſuch as were not of their Opinions, and whenever their Elections came to be diſputed in the Houſe of Commons, they were ſure to be turned out, after which all Artifices were uſed to bring in more ſanctified Members, ſo that every Week their Party encreaſed, either from new Elections, or Proſelytes they gain'd from the old.

The King's Speech at the Open- of the Parliament 1640.

This Parliament which proved ſo fatal to the Kingdom, met at *Weſtminſter* on the third of *November* 1640, when his Majeſty made a Speech to both Houſes, and propoſed two things principally to their Conſideration; namely, the Chaſtizing the *Scotiſh* Rebels, and the Redreſs of their Grievances, and left it to them where they would begin, for he was reſolved he ſaid to put himſelf on the Love and Affection of his *Engliſh* Subjects, only he informed them, that the Loan the Peers had procured him from the City of *London*, would not maintain his Army above two Months, and left it to them to conſider what a Diſhonour and Diſadvantage it would be to diſband his Army for want of Money; while the Rebels Army remain'd in the Kingdom. He alſo recommended the calamitous Condition of the Northern Counties to their care, and referred it to the Lord Keeper *Finch* to enlarge on theſe Particulars, concluding with a Requeſt, that they would lay aſide all Suſpicions of one another, aſſuring them it ſhould not be his fault if this was not a happy Parliament.

The

*A.D.*1640
16 *Car.* I.
The Lord Keeper's Speech.

The Lord Keeper having taken notice of the Peace and Tranquility the Subjects of *England* had long enjoy'd under their Majesties, and set before them the Happiness of the Constitution, suggested the Hazards and Inconveniencies that might attend the attempting to make any Alteration in it; reminded them of the Insurrections and Tumults of late Years in *Scotland*, of their raising an Army, and opposing his Majesty on the Borders, and the Pacification the King had notwithstanding granted them at *Berwick*, which he observed the *Scots* had broken, and assembled another Army, that obliged his Majesty to raise Forces again to reduce them to their Duty, and this had been done by the unanimous Advice of his Council, but that his Majesty not being able to March Northward so soon as he design'd for want of Supplies, the *Scots* had enter'd *England*, seiz'd *Newcastle* and *Durham*, and laid the Northern Counties under Contribution; that the King thereupon had assembled the grand Council of Peers at *York*, to advise with them till a Parliament could be called, which he had determined to do before any Petition was presented to him for that purpose. Then he took notice of the Treaty he had enter'd into with the *Scots*, the Cessation of Arms, *&c.* And thus having given a Summary of the Situation of Affairs, left it to them to advise what was fit to be done; concluding with a Direction to the Commons to return to their House, and chuse a Speaker, who having elected Mr. *William Lenthall*, a Bencher of *Lincoln*'s-*Inn*, he was on the fifth Instant presented to his Majesty, who approved their Choice; and observing that Offence had been taken

taken at his Speech from the Throne, because his Majesty had therein twice called the *Scots* Rebels, he said he must needs call them so as they had actually invaded this Kingdom, though he had termed them Subjects in his Commission to treat with them; from whence it is evident the King too late discovered that the Parliament look'd upon the *Scots* rather as Friends than Enemies; and this more evidently appeared, when instead of making any Provision to drive them out, or Supply the King's Army, they gave encouragement to numerous Petitions from several Counties in *England*, reflecting on the Administration, and complaining of their Grievances, and gave their Orders for discharging the most furious Enemies to the Government from their Confinement, such as *Burton*, *Prynn*, *Bastwick*, *Lilburn* and *Leighton*.

A D. 1640
16 *Car.* I.

The Parliament releafe *Burton*, *Prynn*, &c.

Pym, the most implacable Enemy to the Earl of *Strafford*, and to the Administration in general, harangued the Commons for two Hours together upon the Grievances of the Nation, which he aggravated with all the Cunning and Malice imaginable. The three great Heads of Complaint were the Breaking through the Privileges of Parliament, Innovations in Religion as they were called, and Invasions on the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, amongst which the Levying Ship-Money was most insisted on. The new Canons, and the Oath imposed by the Convocation after the rising of the last Parliament, were vehemently inveighed against; as was the raising Money by the Convocation, without the Concurrence of the Parliament. And lastly, they declared that nothing less would satisfy them, than an entire Change of the

Pym's Speech against Grievances

A.D.1640 — 16 Car. I.

of the Miniſtry, and the bringing thoſe to Juſtice who had adviſed the King to govern without Parliaments, and to raiſe Money by ſuch extraordinary ways as had been practiſed of late Years; and the Judges were threatned for the Opinions they had given in the Caſe of Ship-Money and other Occaſions, whereby they ſaid the Subjects were entirely diveſted of their Properties.

The Commons inſiſt on the King's taking their Advice whom he ſhould truſt.

Nor would the Commons be ſatisfied with a Redreſs of their Grievances, real or pretended, but they began now to encroach on the King's executive Power, and to dictate whom he ſhould imploy in Offices and Commands; for his Majeſty having made the Lord *Cottington* Conſtable of the Tower of *London*, and placed a Garriſon of four Hundred Men there, to ſuppreſs ſuch Tumults as were frequent in the City at this time; they inſiſted that his Majeſty ſhould recall his Commiſſion to Lord *Cottington*, and leave the Government of the Tower to the Lieutenant, which his Majeſty thought fit to comply with. Monopolies or Patents from the Crown for the Exerciſe or Improvement of new Inventions, being one great Subject of Complaint, all who acted under any ſuch Patents from the King, or had any Intereſt in them, were expelled the Houſe of Commons, which was a Stretch of Power and Privilege never exerciſed before by that Houſe. The Houſe of Lords alſo appeared to be very much out of Temper, committing Sir *William Beecher*, one of the Clerks of the Council to the Fleet-Priſon, for ſearching the Studies and Papers of the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Brook* after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament.

Members expelled who were concerned in Monopolies.

though

though he pleaded that it was done by the Command of both the Secretaries of State. *A.D.* 1640. 16 *Car.* I.

While both Houſes were in this Ferment, Mr. *Pym* took an opportunity of venting his Spleen againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, he mov'd on the eleventh of *November* (on a ſudden) that the Door of the Houſe of Commons might be lock'd up, (telling them he had Matters of great Importance to communicate) to which the Houſe agreeing, he in a long Speech accuſed the Earl as the greateſt Enemy to the Liberties of his Country, and the greateſt Promoter of Tyranny that any Age had produced, endeavouring to blaſt his Character both as a private Man and a Miniſter of State; and being ſeconded by ſome other Gentlemen, it was reſolved to Impeach the Earl forthwith of High Treaſon, and accordingly Mr. *Pym*, by order of the Houſe; went up to the Lords and impeach'd the Earl of *Strafford* of High Treaſon the ſame Day, requiring that he might be ſequeſtred from all Council and committed, to ſafe Cuſtody. Whereupon the Lord's cry'd out with an unuſual Clamour that the Earl ſhould withdraw. However, he did with ſome difficulty obtain leave to be heard firſt in his Place; when he took an Opportunity to declare his Innocence, and to deſire he might not be reſtrain'd of his Liberty till he was proved Guilty of ſome Crime, deſiring they would conſider of what ill Conſequence it might be to themſelves, if upon a general Charge, without mentioning one particular Offence, a Peer of the Realm ſhould be committed to Priſon, and then withdrew; and after a ſhort Debate, it was reſolved he ſhould

The Earl of *Strafford* impeach'd by *Pym*.

A.D. 1640. 16 *Car.* I.

The Earl is committed to the Black Rod.

be committed to the Black Rod. *Whitlock* says, that the Earl well foresaw what would happen on his attending this Parliament, and desired he might retire to *Ireland*, or wherever else he might be serviceable to his Majesty; but that the King apprehending he might do him good Service in the House of Lords, insisted on the Earl's taking his Place there this Sessions, and promised to protect him, which he found too late, was not in his Power. 'Tis said also by some Writers, that the Earl intended to have impeach'd Mr. *Pym* and some of the leading Members of the House of Commons of a treasonable Correspondence with the *Scotish* Rebels, which he could easily have proved if they had not been before hand with him; but by an *Impeachment*, I presume those Writers mean the Earl design'd to have had *Pym* and the rest Apprehended and *Indicted* for High Treason in the Courts of Common Law, for he and his Friends very well knew it was impossible to get *Pym* and his Confederates *impeach'd*, properly speaking, by the House of Commons. And should the Court have ventur'd to indict or apprehend *Pym* from High Treason, at this time, it is much to be doubted whether the Commons would have suffered him to be prosecuted, at least the Court did not care to make the Experiment, whatever Evidence they might have against this popular Commoner. But to proceed: Mr. *Pym* carrying up the Articles of Impeachment against the Earl on the 25th of the same Month, he was committed close Prisoner to the Tower: And the Commons ordered that no Member of their House should Visit him without

Sent to the Tower.

without leave of the Houſe, the Peers making the like Order as to their Members, and the Lieutenant of the Tower probably durſt not ſuffer any other Perſons to have acceſs to him. A.D. 1640 16 Car. I.

And now the Commons were pleaſed to conſider the Condition of the Northern Counties, which had two Armies quarter'd upon them; and having voted an hundred Thouſand Pounds more to be borrowed of the City of *London*, order'd half that Sum to be paid to the *Scotiſh* Army, and continued the Payment of 850 *l. per diem* to them as before. About the ſame time, one *James*, a frantick *Papiſt*, attempting to ſtab one *Heyward*, a zealous Reforming Juſtice, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the Cries of the Danger of *Popery* were revived, Sir *Edward Dering*, in one of his Speeches in the Houſe of Commons, cried out, *That Religion was violently invaded by two ſeeming Enemies, the Popiſh and Prelatick Faction, who like* Herod *and* Pilate *were united to deſtroy the Truth: That he had rather have a Pope at* Rome *than a Patriarch at* Lambeth; and moved for a ſelect Committee for the Diſcovery of oppreſſed Miniſters (Puritans) who had lain under the Tyranny of the Biſhops for ten Years paſt; and in order to diſtreſs Archbiſhop *Laud*, the Houſe moved his Majeſty to releaſe Biſhop *Williams*, *Laud*'s old Enemy, out of the Tower, to which his Majeſty conſented, and *Williams* took his Place again in the Houſe of Lords; but it ſeems the Faction were miſtaken in this Prelate, for though he expreſſed ſome reſentment againſt Archbiſhop *Laud*, and the Lord Keeper, as

Money borrowed for the *Scots*.

Sir *Edward Dering*'s violent Speech concerning the Danger of Religion.

Biſhop *Williams* releaſed out of the Tower and reſtored to favour.

*A.D.*1640 16 *Car.* I. the Authors of his Confinement, yet he would by no means run thoſe Lengths the Party expected from him, and contribute to the Ruin of his whole Order; he alſo reprehended ſome Peers that ſpoke diſreſpectfully of the King, and in a little time appeared to be in full favour at Court again.

Burton, Prynn and *Baſtwick*'s triumphant Entry into the City.

The latter end of *November* thoſe celebrated Confeſſors, *Burton*, *Prynn* and *Baſtwick*, who had been cenſured and puniſhed by the Star-Chamber for Sedition, returning from the ſeveral Iſlands and Priſons where they had been confined, made a kind of triumphant Entry into *London*, being met ſeveral Miles out of Town by Multitudes of People, after which they preferr'd Petitions to the Commons for Relief, in Conſideration of their great Sufferings, and were graciouſly received by that Body.

The next thing Debated in the Houſe of Commons was the Buſineſs of Ship-Money, which abundance of honeſt Gentlemen, ſaid to be zealous Aſſerters of the King's Prerogative, inveighed againſt, as an intolerable Grievance: They ſaid among other things, that a moſt excellent Prince had been abuſed by his Judges, who had declared he might do what he pleaſed; the Lord Keeper *Finch* being ſtruck at, as the principal Promoter of that Impoſition; and at length they came to the following Reſolution: *That the Charge impoſed upon the Subject for the providing and furniſhing of Ships, and the Aſſeſſments for raiſing Money for that purpoſe, commonly called Ship-Money; the extrajudicial Opinions of the Judges,*

Reſolution of the Commons concerning Ship-Money.

Judges, and the Shipwrights themſelves, in the whole and every part of them are againſt the Laws of the Realm, the Right of Property and the Liberty of the Subject, contrary to former Reſolutions in Parliament and the Petition of Right. And in this Reſolution the Houſe of Peers concurred, though 'tis remark'd, that neither Houſe was pleaſed to hear what the Judges had to ſay in their Defence. It is ſtill more amazing, that any who were Friends to the King ſhould join with the Faction in this precipitate Reſolution, when they knew it was the King's Neceſſities that drove him to this way of raiſing Money; and that he had often offer'd to relinquiſh it, and was ready to have done it at this time, on their providing for the Neceſſities of the State, without their proceeding in this outragious Manner to arraign his Adminiſtration, whereby they raiſed ſuch a Spirit in the Nation, as in Lord *Clarendon*'s Words, overwhelm'd themſelves, as well as the King and his Miniſtry, in one common Ruin. But the Puritans it appears had the Addreſs to lead numbers of well meaning Men blindfold from one ſtep to another, till they carried them beyond the Poſſibility of Retreat, and then tumbled them headlong down the Precipice.

A.D. 1640
16 *Car.* I.

A new Committee of Lords and Commons was about this time appointed to treat with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners who reſided in the City, of whom the Earl of *Rothes* and the Lord *Loudon* were chief. Theſe Noblemen had a Church aſſign'd them, where their Preſbyterian Chaplains held

Declaration of the *Scots* Commiſſioners againſt Archbiſhop *Laud* and th Earl of *Strafford*

A.D. 1640 — 16 *Car.* I.

held forth, and were daily attended by Crowds of factious Citizens. It was this Committee that the *London* Malecontents chiefly made uſe off to influence the Parliament to deſtroy the beſt Friends of the eſtabliſhed Church, as appears by a Declaration of the Commiſſioners againſt Archbiſhop *Laud* and the Earl of *Strafford*, publiſhed at this time, in which they incite the Parliament of *England* to bring thoſe two great Miniſters to Juſtice, telling them they ſhall reſt ſatisfied in whatever Sentence they ſhould paſs upon thoſe Criminals, but they ſhould reſerve the Incendiaries of their own Nation to the Inquiſition of their Parliament; and indeed they were ſo well ſatisfied of the Marquis of *Hamilton*'s good Offices whom they had formerly ſtiled an Incendiary, that they ſtifled all Evidence againſt him; though he had been more guilty of obtaining monopolizing Grants, as the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, than any Perſon in the Adminiſtration, they were fully determined he ſhould never be called to an account in either Kingdom.

A good underſtanding between *Hamilton* and the Faction.

Pennington and the Rabble Petition againſt Epiſcopacy

To ſecond the Effects of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners againſt the Church, *Pennington*, a Puritan, Alderman of the City, went down to *Weſtminſter* with a multitude of the Rabble at his Heels, and preſented a Petition to the Commons againſt *Popery* and *Armenianiſm*, and indeed for the total Extirpation of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, which he pretended was ſign'd by fifteen Thouſand Citizens; and many Petitions of the ſame Nature were preferred to the

the House from other Quarters; not that the People had generally a dislike to the Worship and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, but the Hands to these Petitions were obtained by Fraud and Artifice; a modest and dutiful Paper was usually read to the People, to which many Sheets of Subscribers Names were annexed, after which the Petition was cut off and another annexed to the long List of Names subscribed to the former Petition suitable to the Taste of the Faction; and indeed a Majority of the Commons were so surprized at these Petitions, that they did not yet think fit to receive them, but referred them to a Committee to consider their Tendency. The next thing brought upon the Stage with an intent to render the Church and her Clergy odious to the People, was the Canons pass'd in the late Convocation, and the Oath required by them; which after some zealous Members had inveighed against in the House of Commons for two Days together, it was resolved that the Clergy had no power to make Canons, Constitutions or Laws to bind either Laity or Clergy without a Parliament, and that those Canons were against the fundamental Laws of the Realm, the King's Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and tended to Faction and Sedition. And on the 18th of *December*, Mr. *Denzil Holles* was sent up to the House of Peers to impeach the Archbishop of *Canterbury* of High Treason, who was thereupon committed to the Custody of the Black Rod. The Lord Keeper *Finch* also was voted a Traitor, and an Impeachment ordered to be drawn up against him, but

A.D. 1640
16 *Car.* I.

Their Knavery in getting Petitions sign'd.

Resolution of the Commons against the Convocation.

Archbishop *Laud* impeached.

The Lord Keeper *Finch* flies beyond Sea.

*A.D.*1640 — 16 *Car.* I.

but he thought fit to make his escape into *Holland*, as Mr. Secretary *Windebank* had done some little time before, being threatned with the resentment of the Commons for skreening *Papists* from Prosecution. Upon the Lord Keeper *Finch*'s withdrawing, Sir *Edward Littleton*, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, was advanced to that Post.

Sir *Edward Littleton* made Lord Keeper.

The Commons proceeded afterwards to attack the Judges, and moved the Lords to oblige them to put in great Bail for their Appearance whenever it was required, several Courtiers and Members of both Houses also were extremely terrified, as being liable to be called to an account for the Countenance they had given to Ship-Money and other Projects for raising Money, and were induced to betray both their King and Country to save themselves; they durst oppose nothing the Faction insisted on, for fear of incurring their Displeasure; and thus their Party was mightily encreased in both Houses; nor had the King a Servant or Officer in his Court that cared to oppose the Torrent, very few that durst be faithful to him. However, the Commons still shew'd great outward respect to the King's Person, and assured him on his giving them leave to inspect his Revenue, that they would not only settle and augment it, but make his Majesty one of the richest Princes in Christendom, and now having sat about two Months, it was thought fit to adjourn themselves for ten Days on account of the *Christmas* Holy-days.

Votes against the Judges.

Members terrified, and join the Faction.

The King's Servants afraid to oppose them.

A. 1640-1
16 Car. I.

During this ſhort Receſs, the King was adviſed by the Marquis of *Hamilton* ('tis ſaid) to call ſeveral of the moſt popular Noblemen of the Faction to the Council-Board; and accordingly the Earls of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Eſſex* and *Briſtol*, the Lords *Say*, *Saville* and *Kimbolton*, were ſworn of the Privy-Council; it being expected they wou'd now have oppos'd all further Encroachments on the Prerogative, and ſkreen'd the Earl of *Strafford* from the Fury of the Commons; but theſe Noblemen ſoon diſcovered that they were not to be mollified; and, inſtead of advancing, embarraſs'd the King's Affairs more than ever: They told his Majeſty, that they cou'd give him no Advice that was not agreeable to the Senſe of the Parliament, his great Council, by whoſe Wiſdom he was entirely to guide himſelf; and thus the King found himſelf deprived of all Advice, when he moſt needed it; it was afterwards propoſed to prefer Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *St. John*, and ſeveral leading Men of the Commons, and Mr. *St. John* was actually made Solicitor-General; but as his Majeſty found *St. John* ſtill implacably bent againſt his Government, and oppoſing every thing that was propos'd for the King's Service in the Houſe of Commons, and ſeeing himſelf abus'd by the Lords he had called to the Council-Board, he did with a great deal of reaſon ſuſpend his deſign of promoting any more of that Party for the preſent, tho' the Lord *Clarendon* ſeems to have been of opinion, that if he had gone through with it at this time, his Majeſty had ſav'd both the Earl of *Strafford* and the Conſtitution. It muſt be remember'd, that both the Lord *Clarendon* (then Mr. *Hyde*) andthe Lord *Falkland*, whom he ſo much admires, were then Enemies to

The K. admits ſeveral Factious Lords of his Council.

They embarraſs his Affairs.

St. John made Solicitor-General.

A. 1640-1
16 *Car.* I.

the Court and Miniſtry, and made very ſevere Speeches againſt the Government; and poſſibly the Noble Hiſtorian wou'd apologiſe for the Weakneſs of his own Conduct, by cenſuring the Management of his Superiours. It is very evident, that *Hyde*, *Falkland*, and many more, who afterwards adher'd to the King, when their Eyes were open'd and ſaw what deſtruction the Faction were bringing upon the Nation, indulg'd their Reſentments againſt particular Men too far in this Parliament, and contributed to bring thoſe Evils upon the Nation, which they afterwards lamented and in vain endeavour'd to prevent. And this may give us very good reaſon to ſuſpect, that the Noble Hiſtorian was far from being partial to the King's Side, in that part of his Hiſtory which treats of the Grounds and Occaſion of the Civil Wars. But to return; Articles of Impeachment being exhibited againſt the Lord Keeper *Finch* in the Houſe of Commons, on the 14th of *January* (tho' he was then in *Holland*) the Lord *Falkland* and Mr *Hyde* made very ſevere Speeches againſt that Miniſter; immediately after which, the Lord *Digby* made a Motion to bring in a Bill for Triennial Parliaments, as the only means to keep future Miniſters in awe, and a Bill was accordingly brought in; and having afterwards taken the Demands of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners into Conſideration, they vote *That a friendly Aſſiſtance and Relief ſhou'd be granted towards Supplying the Loſſes and Neceſſities of the* Scots.

The E. of *Clarendon* for ſome time rather an Enemy than a Friend to the King.

Vote for Triennial Parliaments.

Vote in Favour of the *Scots*.

The King, obſerving all things running into Confuſion, order'd the two Houſes to attend him at *Whitehall*, where in a Speech he obſerved to them, that ſome Men, more maliciouſly than ignorantly, made no difference between

The King offers to redreſs every Grievance.

tween a *Reformation* and an *Alteration* (or Subverſion) of the Government; and told them he wou'd cheerfully concur in reforming all Innovations, both in the Church and Commonwealth, and for reducing all things to the ſame Condition they ſtood in the beſt and happieſt Times of Queen *Elizabeth*; and whatever part of his Revenue was found illegal or burthenſome to his Subjects, he wou'd lay it down, truſting in their Affections: Then he took Notice of the ſtrange Petitions that had been preſented them againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and the great Threatnings againſt the Biſhops; and ſaid, if they cou'd ſhew the Biſhops had aſſum'd any Temporal Authority that did not belong to them, he wou'd conſent to reſtrain it, but he cou'd go no farther with them: As to their Bill for Triennial Parliaments; he was not againſt the thing it ſelf, but diſlik'd their transferring his Authority to Sheriffs and Conſtables; and obſerv'd, that they might already ſee the Deſire he had to preſerve a good Underſtanding with them, by the Miniſters he employed. *A.* 1640-1 / 16 *Car.* I.

But whatever Conceſſions the King made, the Faction ſoon diſcover'd they were not to be ſatisfied; for, inſtead of returning his Majeſty Thanks for this condeſcending Speech, the two Houſes preſented a peeviſh Remonſtrance againſt the Encreaſe of Popery, and requir'd that *Goodman*, a Prieſt that lay under Sentence of Condemnation, might be executed; to which the King anſwer'd, that neither Queen *Elizabeth* or his Father ever put a Prieſt to death merely for Religion, and deſired they wou'd reflect on the Miſchiefs that might fall on his Subjects, and other Proteſtants abroad, But the Commons are not to be ſatisfied

A. 1640-1 by ſo great Severity; however he left the Matter to the Diſcretion of the two Houſes.

16 *Car.* I.

In the mean time, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners roſe conſiderably in their Demands; they inſiſted, That all Acts of Parliament made in *Scotland*, ſhou'd be confirm'd by the King; That the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and all Fortreſſes there, ſhou'd be put into the hands of the States (the Rebels) for their Defence; That his Majeſty ſhou'd not employ any Perſon in any Office or Place, that ſhou'd be adjudg'd uncapable of ſerving him by Parliament, or grant ſuch Perſons any Acceſs to his Perſon; and That the *Engliſh* ſhou'd pay the *Scots* Nine hundred thouſand Pounds and upwards, for their Loſſes and Charges in their Expedition to *England*, beſides the Eight hundred and fifty Pounds *per diem*, and the Plunder they had made in the North.

The Inſolent Demands of the *Scots*.

To which Demands Sir *Jarvis Hollis*, a Member of the Commons, anſwer'd, that no man had a more charitable Opinion of the Intentions of the *Scots*, than he had, while they made their Addreſſes at an humble diſtance, becoming Subjects to their Soveraign; but now, when he ſaw them ſwell in their Demands beyond all proportion, and require things unfit for the King to grant, and diſhonourable to the Nation, he cou'd not but fix a Mark of Danger upon them, and fear'd they had nouriſh'd thoſe in their Boſom that wou'd ſting them to death. However, the Houſe was of another mind, and expell'd Sir *Jarvis* for the Reflections he had made on their good Friends, the *Scots*: They reſolv'd alſo, that the *Scots* ſhou'd receive Satisfaction in all their Demands; only they reduc'd the Sum they were to pay them to Three hundred thouſand Pounds, which they

A Member expelled for reflecting on the *Scots*.

they voted to be *a fit Proportion for the friendly Aſſiſtance and Relief that had been afforded them by their Brethren of* Scotland; from whence it will not be unreaſonable to conjecture, that the Malecontents in both Kingdoms had been long united in a Conſpiracy againſt the King and Government, tho' it was not till now openly avow'd by them. *A.* 1640-1 16 *Car.* I.

The Demands of the *Scots* comply'd with by the Commons.

And now the Faction ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the *Scotiſh* Army, which was in a manner in their Pay, and by the Puritans of *London*, and the reſt of the Kingdom, who had actually provided themſelves with Arms, they ventur'd openly to attack the Eccleſiaſtical State, and voted, *That no Biſhop ſhould have a Vote in Parliament, or any judicial Power in the Star-Chamber, or bear any ſway in Temporal Affairs; and that no Clergyman ſhou'd be in the Commiſſion of the Peace.* I ſhall not here trouble my ſelf, to enquire by what Right the Biſhops ſat in Parliament originally; it is enough to obſerve, that they ſat there long before the Commons, and therefore it is not to be conceiv'd what Pretence the Commons cou'd have to reſtrain their voting, or exclude them from a Share in the Legiſlative or Executive Power.

Reſolv'd that Biſhops ought to have no Votes in Parliament, or Offices conferr'd on them.

The Commons proceeded in the next place, to impeach Sir *Robert Berkley*, one of the Judges of the Kings-Bench, of High Treaſon, for giving his Opinion in the Caſe of Ship-Money; and, to ſtrike the greater Terror into thoſe who oppoſed them, it was ſo contriv'd, that the Uſher of the Black-Rod took him out of Court, as he ſat upon the Bench adminiſtring Juſtice in *Weſtminſter-hall*; but he ſaved his Head, by advancing Ten thouſand Pounds

A Judge impeached and taken off the Bench.

A. 1640-1 Pounds ſome time afterwards, for the uſe of the Faction.

16 *Car.* I. The two Houſes about this time, paſs'd a Bill for four Subſidies (of which the King was debarr'd from touching a Penny) and another Bill already mention'd for Triennial Parliaments; and both of them received the Royal Aſſent, on the 15th of *February*, when his Majeſty made a Speech to both Houſes; wherein he obſerved, that never any Act had paſs'd more favourable to the Subject, than the Triennial Bill, and that at a time when he had received very little Encouragement to uſe ſuch Indulgence, the Houſes having yet done nothing for the Security of the Nation, or the Support of the State; that they had indeed taken the Government to pieces, and almoſt off the hinges: He hop'd the Conſtitution wou'd not ſuffer by the Alterations they made, but, like ſkilful Workmen, they wou'd ſet the Machine a going again; that they muſt now be convinc'd he had done his Part, and perform'd all that he had promis'd towards a happy Settlement, or to that Effect.

An Act paſs'd for four Subſidies.

An Act for Triennial Parliaments.

His Majeſty's Speech thereupon.

Great Rejoicings were made on the paſſing of the Triennial Bill, and both Houſes return'd his Majeſty their Thanks for it: By this Act, the Sheriffs and Inferior Officers had Power to proceed to the Election of Members of Parliament, and they were empower'd to ſit without being call'd by the King's Writ, which gave Occaſion to the Earl of *Dorſet* to ſalute his Majeſty ſoon after by the Title of *Fellow Subject*, intimating that the King had now transferr'd his Authority to the People. But the Commons were not yet ſatisfied, they proceeded to proſecute his Miniſters, with the utmoſt Malice and Fury, carrying up a Charge

Articles againſt Archbp. *Laud.*

o

of fourteen Articles, for which there was ſcarce any Foundation, againſt Archbiſhop *Laud*, to the Houſe of Lords, on the 26th of *February*; whereupon his Grace was committed cloſe Priſoner to the Tower: They prepar'd to make good their Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; to which end a Committee of the Commons was appointed to pick up what Evidence they cou'd againſt him in *England* and *Ireland*, and they prevail'd on the King to let the Privy-Counſellors be examin'd upon Oath againſt him, concerning Words ſpoken at the Council-Table; they procured the Lords alſo to declare the Biſhops uncapable of voting in the Earl of *Strafford*'s Caſe, as alſo all Lords who have been created ſince the Earl was impeach'd: Under theſe Diſadvantages, the Earl of *Strafford* was brought to his Tryal before the Lords in *Weſtminſter-hall*, on the 22d of *March* 1640-1, the Earl of *Arundel* being appointed High-Steward, and the following Committee of the Commons appointed to manage the Evidence againſt him; *viz.* Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Maynard*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Hampden*, Lord *Digby*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Palmer*, *&c.*

A. 1640-1
16 *Car.* I.

He is ſent to the Tower.

The King permits Privy-Counſellors to be examin'd againſt *Strafford*.

Biſhops and Temporal Lords excluded from voting in this Caſe.

Earl of *Strafford*'s Tryal.

I ſhall not entertain the Reader with the Particulars of this extraordinary Proceeding, but refer him to the State Tryals for his ſatisfaction; only obſerve, that the Commons, not being able by all the Tricks and Artifice they uſed to prove the Earl guilty of High-Treaſon, brought in a Bill of Attainder to cut him off without legal Evidence; alledging, that altho' one Fact cou'd not be deem'd High-Treaſon, yet a great many Crimes *accumulated*, might be conſtrued to amount to High-Treaſon,

The Commons turn their Impeachment into a Bill of Attainder.

A. 1640-1
16 *Car.* I.

ſon; and that altho' they had not ſuch Evidence of his Crimes as was required in the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, it was ſufficient to convict him, that the Members in their Conſciences *believ'd* him guilty.

The principal Charge againſt him falſe.

What was moſt inſiſted on, in this Tryal againſt the Earl, was the Evidence of his mortal Enemy Sir *Henry Vane*, who depoſed, *that the Earl had ſaid in Council, that his Majeſty was abſolved from all Rules of Government, and had an Army in* Ireland, *which he might employ to reduce this Kingdom:* Tho' it was proved, beyond all diſpute, that theſe Words were ſpoken in relation to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was then in actual Rebellion, and were never meant of *England*. While the Bill of Attainder was depending in the Houſe of Lords, *viz.* on the firſt of *May*, the King came thither, and in a Speech acquainted them, that ſince he muſt have a ſhare in the Judgment that was to paſs upon the Earl, he thought it neceſſary to declare that he cou'd not in his Conſcience condemn him; that he never had any Intention to bring over the *Iriſh* Army, neither was he ever adviſed ſo to do; nor was he ever adviſed by any one, to alter any of the Laws of *England:* However, tho' he cou'd not condemn the Earl of High-Treaſon, he cou'd not acquit him of Miſdemeanours, ſuch as he thought render'd him unfit to ſerve himſelf, or the Commonwealth, in any Place of Truſt; and therefore left it to their Lordſhips to find out ſome way to ſatisfy Juſtice and their own Fears, without oppreſſing his Conſcience.

The Kings Speech to the Lords on this Occaſion.

The Commons enrag'd at it.

But this Speech is ſuppoſed by ſome to have done the Earl more hurt than good; the Lord *Clarendon* ſuggeſted, that the Lord *Say*, and

and ſome popular factious Lords, adviſed the King to make this Speech on purpoſe to deſtroy the Earl; for the Commons were immediately in a flame, and declared this Act of the King's to be an unparallel'd Breach of Privilege; that it was a Prejudging of their Councils, an Obſtruction of Juſtice &c. And the next Day, they drew down five or ſix thouſand of the Mob from the City, armed with Swords and Clubs, to *Weſtminſter*; who, having filled the Palace-Yards and every other Avenue to the Parliament-Houſe, ſtopped the Members Coaches, crying out *Juſtice and Execution.* Nor wou'd they ſuffer ſome of them to move forward, till they promiſed to promote the Execution of the Earl of *Strafford:* the ſame Rabble enter'd *Weſtminſter-Abby*, broke down the Organ, plunder'd the Church of the Furniture and ſacred Veſtments, and in a hoſtile Manner afterwards marched to *Whitehall*, where they inſulted and abuſed his Majeſty, who adviſed them to return Home, and mind their own Buſineſs. Their Captain was one *Cornelius Burgeſs*, a Puritan Preacher, who had taken the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, but ſhewed much more Skill in ſpiriting up, and managing of Mobs, than in preaching the Goſpel of Peace, and Obedience to Magiſtrates; he was uſed to boaſt that the Rabble were his Dogs, whom he could ſet on, and take off, as he pleaſed. And now we may look upon the Rebellion to be begun; for whatever was done afterwards in Parliament, was extorted by the Rage and Fury of the People, which the King long endeavoured to appeaſe by Conceſſions and gentle Uſage, but was at laſt compelled to take Arms in his Defence. Nothing is more evi-

A.D. 1641
17 *Car.* I.

The Rabble terrify the Lords.

They ſacrilegiouſly plunder *Weſtminſter-Abby.*

They revile and inſult the K. in his Palace.

Dr *Burgeſs* the Puritan Preacher, their Captain.

The Rebellion commences here.

*A.D.*1641 dent, than that the Faction in the Houſe of Commons abetted and encouraged theſe Tu-
17 *Car.* I. mults; for when Juſtices of Peace committed ſome of theſe Rioters, they were themſelves apprehended and impriſoned by the Order of the Commons; who declared, That it was free for all Men to Petition the Parliament; tho' at the ſame time they ſhut the City Gates againſt the *Kentiſh* Men, and others, who were coming to Petition them on the other Side; and ſeveral of the leading Members reſorted to the Clubs of Apprentices in the City, and informed them, that the factious Members intended to give them Orders how they ſhould behave themſelves, when any thing of Importance was put to the Vote, which they could not carry, without bringing down their Mobs to awe the two Houſes: Nor were theſe People purely an undiſciplined Multitude, but were formed into regular Bodies, and had Arms given them; every Profeſſion, Tinkers, Shoo-makers, Taylors, Porters, Watermen, had their particular Captains or Leaders, whom they obey'd implicitly, without enquiring into the Reaſons they went upon: Theſe poſted up at *Weſtminſter-hall-Gate*, and all Publick Places about Town, the Names of the Commons, who voted againſt the Earl of *Strafford*'s Attainder, denominating them STRAFFORDIANS AND ENEMIES TO THEIR COUNTRY: Thus marking them out for Deſtruction.

The Mob formed into regular Bodies of Soldiers by the Faction.

Straffordians.

Still the Bill of Attainder was ſtopped in the Houſe of Lords; whereupon the Faction, to facilitate the Paſſing of it, pretended they had diſcovered a Plot between the Courtiers and the Army to reſcue the Earl of *Strafford*, and put a Force upon the Parliament, which

A pretended Plot to deliver *Strafford.*

was

was worked up with so much Art, that both Houses enter'd into a solemn Protestation (among other Things) to preserve their Privileges, and defend each other against all Persons whatever; which they obliged the rest of his Majesty's Subjects to take by their own Authority: Thus the Commons frightned the Lords with Plots and Tumults, till at length they prevailed on them, to pass the Bill of Attainder; the Bishops and several of the Earl's Friends, for fear of being assaulted and abused, absenting themselves: Indeed there were but Forty-four Present on the 8th of *May* when it was put to the Vote, of whom Twenty-five were *Content*, and Nineteen *Not Content*; so that the Bill was carried at last, in the House of Lords, but by Seven Voices, and that after the Opinions of the Judges had been obtained, that the Earl had incurr'd the Guilt of High-Treason; which those Oracles of the Law were frightned into likewise, and consequently their Judgments ought to have been of as little Weight here, as in the Case of Ship-money. His Majesty having expressed the utmost Reluctance to Passing the Bill, was attended by the two Houses at *Whitehall*, to move him to consent to it, the same Evening it was carried in the House of Peers; to whom he promised they should receive his Answer on *Monday:* In the mean time an armed Rabble from *London*, surrounded his Palace; crying out, *Justice*, *Justice*, threatning the Destruction of the King, Queen, and Royal Family, unless his Majesty consented to *Strafford*'s Death; with which the Queen was so terrified, being sensible of the Rage of the People against her, on account of her Religion, that she begg'd the King to yield

*A.D.*1641

17 *Car.* I.

A Protestation or Association by both Houses.

The Lords mobbed into a compliance with the Commons.

His Majesty threatned by the Mob.

*A.D.*1641 17 *Car.* I.

to their Demands for the Preſervation of her and her Children, as well as his himſelf, and did more towards ſhaking his Conſtancy, than any other Perſon: 'Tis ſaid, in this perplexity, his Majeſty ſummon'd his Privy-Council, the Judges, and Five of the Biſhops, *viz.* Archbiſhop *Uſher*, *Morten* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Potter* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, but could receive no ſatisfaction from any of them: They all gave doubtful and equivocal Anſwers; only Biſhop *Juxon* had the Courage and Integrity to tell him, he ought to do nothing againſt his Conſcience for any Conſideration in the World; while ſome other Biſhops ſcandalouſly diſtinguiſhed between the King's Private and Publick Conſcience, ſuggeſting that however innocent he might in his Private Opinion think the Earl, he ought to be governed by the Opinions of the two Houſes of Parliament, and the Judges, who had declared him Guilty of High-Treaſon.

The Q. prevails on the K. to give the Royal Aſſent to the Bill of Attainder.

The Biſhops diſtinguiſh between the King's Private and his Publick Conſcience.

The Earl of *Strafford*, underſtanding the Diſtreſs the King was in, and that the Ruin of the Royal Family was threatned, unleſs his Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to the Bill, generouſly wrote to the King, not to hazard the Safety of his Family and the Peace of the Kingdom for his ſake, but Paſs the Bill; adding, that his Conſent would abundantly acquit his Majeſty in the Eye of Heaven, and he ſhould reſign his Life with all the Cheerfulneſs imaginable, as an Acknowledgment of the Favours he had received from his Sovereign. And this, 'tis ſaid, went a great way in determining his Majeſty's Reſolution; but however that was, after the King had ſpent two

The E. of *Strafford* intreats his Majeſty to paſs the Bill.

two Days and Nights in the utmoſt Perplexity, he ſign'd a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Arundel* and two other Noblemen to paſs this Bill, with another no leſs fatal to himſelf, which was offer'd at the ſame time, namely, to make the preſent Parliament perpetual, which had been hurried up and paſſed both Houſes in a Day or two, on pretence that they could not borrow any more Money for the Service of the State, unleſs the People had an Aſſurance, that the Parliament ſhould not be diſſolved; and it was contrived to offer it to the King at this time, when his Thoughts were entirely taken up with the Earl of *Strafford*'s Caſe, and he could not be ſuppoſed to attend to what he did. Certain it is, this falſe Step contributed more to the Ruin of the King and the whole Conſtitution, than any thing that had hitherto happen'd. The Commons indeed returned his Majeſty Thanks for this extraordinary Condeſcenſion; aſſuring him, *They would make him a* GLORIOUS KING *and as rich as any of his Predeceſſors*; which they made good, as one obſerves, by depriving him of his Temporal Crown and Life, and haſtening his Acceſſion to an Eternal Kingdom.

A.D. 1641

17 *Car.* I.

It is paſſed by Commiſſion with another Act for perpetuating the Parliament.

But to be a little more particular as to the Earl of *Strafford*; the King, troubled for what he had done, wrote to the Houſe of Peers, by his Son the Prince, to deſire that Mercy might be ſhewn the Earl; and that they would be content with his perpetual Impriſonment, and endeavour at a Conference with the Houſe of Commons, to bring them into the ſame Sentiments; adding, by way of Poſtſcript, That *if he muſt die, it were Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.*

The King ſubmits to beg the Earl's Life of the Parliament in vain.

*A.D.*1641 18 *Car.* I. *Saturday.* But his Enemies were inexorable: Twelve Lords were ſent back to his Majeſty from that Houſe, to let him know, that neither of his Intentions could be comply'd with; pretending that the Queen, and the Princes their young Children, would be in Danger, if they ſhould conſent to either. Whereupon the Earl was order'd to be executed on the 12th Day of *May*; when, being brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, he declared ſolemnly, that he was not guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge, nor ever had the leaſt Intention or Inclination to prejudice the King, the State, the Religion or Laws of the Realm; he forgave all who had contrived his Death, and wiſh'd the Kingdom all Proſperity and Happineſs; but deſired that they would conſider ſeriouſly, *Whether the Reformation of a Kingdom ought to be writ in Letters of Blood?* After which, having taken Leave of his Friends, he ſaid, he as chearfully put off his Cloaths at this Time, as ever he went to Bed; and laying his Head upon the Block, it was ſevered from his Body at one Stroke. His Death is aſcribed chiefly to the *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Puritans (who could never expect to eſtabliſh their Idol Preſbytery in both Kingdoms, while this great Man lived) and to the Envy of the *Engliſh* Nobility, who were piqu'd at his engroſſing the Royal Favour. And it muſt be acknowledg'd, that the Revenge of the *Vanes* had no inconſiderable Share in his Deſtruction.

He is executed.

The Uſurpation of the Commons.

But to return to the Parliament: The Commons had no ſooner obtain'd the Royal Aſſent to the Act for perpetuating them, than they aſſum'd a more Deſpotick and Arbitrary Power, than any King of *England* had exercis'd: Their Vote, without Trial or Hearing, was look'd

look'd upon as a ſufficient Authority to ruin the greateſt Man in the Kingdom; or to ſuſpend or alter any Law in being, relating either to the Church or State; and this the People were induc'd to ſubmit to, under pretence, that ſome Officers of the Army and Courtiers were entered into a Conſpiracy, to put a Force upon the Parliament, and render the King Abſolute, as has been hinted already; for which they had no other Foundation, than the Diſcourſes of ſome of the King's Friends, in the Court and Army, who were concerned to ſee the abject Condition their Soveraign was reduced to, and made ſome general Overtures for preventing the final Diſtruction of his Majeſty and the ancient Conſtitution. This was called a Plot to deſtroy the Parliament, and ſet the King above the Laws; which, after they had voted the reality of, the People readily believed, and reſign'd themſelves to be governed by the Commons as their Protectors.

*A.D.*1641
18 *Car.* I.

They trump up another Plot.

The great Officers of State, obſerving what Power the Commons had aſſumed, trembled, and choſe to reſign their Poſts, rather than venture the being called to an Account, by ſo arbitrary a Judicature; particularly the Lord *Collington*, who reſign'd his Place of Maſter of the Wards, and was ſucceeded by the Lord *Say*, one of the moſt zealous Reformers: And Biſhop *Juxon* thought fit to part with the Treaſurer's Staff (tho' no Man ever laid any thing to his Charge, while he remained in that Office;) and the Treaſury was afterwards managed by Five Commiſſioners of the *Scotiſh* or *Puritan* Faction. The Marquis of *Hertford* was made Governor to the Prince, in the room of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*: The Earl of *Leiceſter* was made Lord

The great Officers of State reſign, and are ſucceeded by the Faction.

*A.D.*1641 Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: The Earl of
18 *Car.* I. *Eſſex* Lord Chamberlain, *&c.* In ſhort, the King was prevailed on to part with all his faithful Servants, and place his Enemies about him, as the moſt likely means to bring them over to his Intereſt; tho' it appears he was deceived in almoſt every Change he made of this Nature. Indeed his Majeſty ſeems to have had very little Choice left; for his Friends durſt not ſerve him, after he had reſign'd the brave Earl of *Strafford* to the Fury of his Enemies; and therefore he was compelled to make uſe of ſuch Officers, as were acceptable to the Parliament, and *in whom they could confide*, according to their uſual Phraſe.

The Act of Tonnage paſs'd.

The Two Houſes having paſſed a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage for two Months only, wherein they make his Majeſty declare he had no Right to thoſe or any other Duties laid on Merchandize; whereby he was deprived of all poſſibility of ſupporting his Government, but as the Parliament ſhould feed him with Supplies from two Months to two Months: Such was his Majeſty's unhappy Circumſtances, that he found himſelf obliged to give the Royal Aſſent to it on the 22d of *June*. Which occaſioned Sir *Edward Deering*, hitherto one of the moſt implacable Enemies to the Court, to let fall the following words in the Houſe: *We are all bound to the Goodneſs of his ſacred Majeſty* (*God preſerve him and his for it!*) *none of all our Bills, none of our Petitions, this Parliament, have miſcarried in his Royal Hand, but have been all compleated with the Royal Aſſent.*

A Confeſſion, that the King had done all that was demanded of him.

The Parliament had a little before granted ſix Subſidies for the Payment of the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Armies in the North, and now prepar'd

prepared a Bill for a Poll Tax, to which they would have tack'd two other Bills, for the aboliſhing of the Courts of High-Commiſſion and Star-Chamber; but the King paſſed the Poll Bill, and took time to conſider of the other two: Whereupon the Commons gave out ſuch threatening Speeches, that the King found himſelf oblig'd to paſs the Bills for aboliſhing the High-Commiſſion and Star-Chamber Courts, two Days after, tho' his Majeſty received but little Advantage from thoſe Money Bills, which were looked upon as the Purchaſe of the other; for the Faction appropriated the Money to ſuch uſes as they ſaw fit, and actually applied Part of it to the raiſing Forces againſt him.

A.D. 1641
18 *Car.* I.
An Act for a Poll Tax.
Acts for aboliſhing the Courts of High Commiſſion and Star-Chamber.

The Commons had already impeached ſome of the Biſhops, and now proceeded to impeach ſix of the Judges, for giving their Opinions in the Caſe of Ship-money: And here we find that great Stateſman Mr. *Hyde* (afterwards Lord *Clarendon*) ſtill bitterly inveighing againſt the Judges in the Houſe, and adding Fuel to the Flames already kindled; which ſurely he would not have done, when he ſaw the Crown already ſo depreſs'd, if he had not even till then remained an Enemy to the Government. This may be the reaſon we find him, in the beginning of his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, ſo ſeverely cenſuring the King and the Adminiſtration; this might ſeem neceſſary to juſtify his own Conduct: Nor will all the Art he has uſed, perfectly clear him from contributing to ſpirit up the People into that very Rebellion he gives us the Hiſtory of, however he might afterwards ſee his Error. What Occaſion was there for his reviling the Adminiſtration after

Biſhops and Judges impeached.
Mr. *Hyde*'s Speech againſt the Judges.
Still an Enemy to the Court.

A.D. 1641 — 18 *Car.* I. the King had granted every thing the Commons could aſk, parted with his moſt undoubted Prerogatives, and ſacrificed every Miniſter and every Friend to their Fury. A generous Compaſſion, one would think, might have induced him to have been ſilent at ſuch a time, unleſs he alſo was enchanted with thoſe Fears and Jealouſies, which he expoſes other Men for entertaining.

Order of the Commons for defacing Croſſes.

And now the Commons proceeded by their ſole Authority, to order all Pictures and Croſſes they deemed ſuperſtitious, in Churches and elſewhere, to be demoliſhed and defaced; whereupon the fine Croſſes at *Cheapſide* and *Charing-Croſs* were taken down, and every common Sign, that contained any Reſemblance of a Croſs: After which, it was carried in the Houſe to bring in *A Bill for the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy*, on pretence the *Scotiſh* Army would not leave the Kingdom till they ſaw it effected.

A Bill for Extirpating Epiſcopacy.

The King finding no end of the Complaints of the Commons, and that their Deſign was evidently to ſubvert the Government in Church and State, ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes to acquaint them, he deſigned to viſit his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland* again; and therefore deſired they would finiſh ſuch Bills, as they expected his Approbation of, before he begun his Journey. The Faction, apprehending that the King and his *Scotiſh* Subjects might come to a good underſtanding, prevail'd on both Houſes to addreſs his Majeſty, that he would not go to *Scotland*; but he was not to be diverted from it, only he put it off for a Fortnight; and, having made the Earl of *Holland* General of the Army, who afterwards betrayed all his Councils, and even

The King goes to *Scotland*.

his

his private Diſcourſe, his Majeſty ſet out for *Scotland* on the 10th of *Auguſt*, being attended by a Committee of both Houſes, who were to be Spies upon him, and endeavour to keep the *Scots* ſteady to their Intereſts. *A.D.* 1641 — 18 *Car.* I.

The Acts that received the Royal Aſſent before his Majeſty went to *Scotland* were, *An Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms, whereby the* Engliſh *agreed to pay the* Scots *Eleven hundred thouſand Pounds for invading them, beſides the Damages the Nation ſuſtained by their Ravages: An Act for aſcertaining the Bounds of Foreſts: An Act to prevent the King's impoſing the Order of Knighthood on any Perſon againſt his Will: An Act declaring the Proceedings in the Caſe of Ship-money illegal and void*; and ſome other Acts of leſs moment, which will be found at the End of the Reign. And the Commons, continuing to ſit after the King was gone, took upon them to alter the Laws relating to Religion, in ſome Inſtances; and even put it to the Vote, whether the Liturgy ſhould not be laid aſide; but not being able to carry the Point yet, they reſolved however that the ſtanding of the Communion-Table ſhould be alter'd, the Rails pull'd down, and the Chancel levelled with the Church; and that no Man ſhould preſume to bow at the Name of *Jeſus*: And tho' they were oppoſed by the Lords, who refuſed to join in this Reſolution, and order'd a former Order of their Houſe to be revived, *That Divine Service ſhould be perform'd according to the Acts of Parliament in Force, and that whoever acted contrary to that Order ſhould be puniſh'd*; the Commons nevertheleſs declared, That their own Order ſhould be ſubmitted to by all the Commons of *England*; which created ſome Difference between

Act of Pacification.

For fixing the Bounds of Foreſts.

Againſt Knighthood and againſt Ship-money.

*A.D.*1641 the two Houſes. However, both of them a-
18 *Car.* I. greed to appoint a Day of Thankſgiving for the late Pacification, and order'd the Preachers to magnify the Loyalty and Faithfulneſs of his Majeſty's *Scotiſh* Subjects in their Sermons (to which they had obtain'd his Majeſty's Conſent, as 'tis ſaid;) and whoever made any Reflection on the Conduct of the *Scots*, were ſure to be proſecuted as Malignants, and taken into Cuſtody. At length, each Houſe of Parliament thought fit to adjourn, but appointed their reſpective Committees to act during this Receſs, according to the Orders they had given them.

The Armies diſbanded. About the ſame time the two Armies were diſbanded, and the Earl of *Holland*, whom the King had made General of the *Engliſh*, returning to *London*, united himſelf to the Faction, to whom he betray'd all his Majeſty's Secrets, and went into their moſt violent Meaſures; which he was induced to do, partly on his being denied ſome Favour he had ask'd of his Majeſty, and partly to prevent his being called to Account by the Commons (as the Earl of *Clarendon* ſuggeſts.)

The E. of *Holland* adheres to the Faction.

But to return: His Majeſty, riding Poſt with a ſmall Retinue, reach'd *Edinburgh* on the 14th of *Auguſt*; and three Days after made a Speech to the *Scotiſh* Parliament, wherein he acquainted them he was come thither with an Intention to make up thoſe Differences that had happen'd between him and his People, and to grant them whatever they could aſk for the eſtabliſhing of their Religion and Liberties; which had ſo good an Effect, that the Parliament appeared diſpoſed to make his Majeſty ſuitable Returns for his Condeſcenſion and Goodneſs; till the Marquis of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Argyle* trump'd up a ſham Plot, pretending their Lives

were

were threaten'd by ſome about the King, and made this a Reaſon of leaving the Parliament, and retiring into the Country; which ſo alarmed the *Scots*, that all their Fears and Jealouſies ſeemed to be revived; and they inſiſted on his Majeſty's paſſing ſuch Acts as perfectly ſtripped him of his Soveraignty, and transferred his Authority to a Committee of their own Parliament; with which, however, the King comply'd; nay, he paſs'd an Act to juſtify the *Scotiſh* Rebellion, and condemn all his loyal Friends who had appeared in the Defence of his Government; and another Act, which declared the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops to be contrary to the Word of God; and conferred new Titles on the principal Men that had been in Arms againſt him; particularly on *Leſly* their General, who was made Earl of *Leven*; and on *Henderſon*, the grand Incendiary, he beſtow'd the Rents of the Royal Chappel, equal to a Biſhoprick: In ſhort, he did all that a Prince could do, to reconcile an obſtinate Faction to him; and they thereupon promiſed to ſpend their Lives and Fortunes in his Service; inſomuch that it was uſually ſaid, when he left *Scotland*, *He departed a contented King from a contented People*: But they proved nevertheleſs the moſt treacherous and ungrateful Wretches the World ever ſaw.

A.D. 1641
18 *Car.* I.

The King parts with all his Prerogatives in *Scotland*.

In the mean time, the Committee of the Commons, that attended the King to *Scotland*, having ſent an Account of the pretended Plot to their Principals at *London*, did not only aſſure them of the Reality of it, but ſuggeſted, that the Conſpiracy was more extenſive than People generally imagined, and that the Leaders in the *Engliſh* Parliament might poſſibly be in equal Danger with thoſe in *Scotland*; whereupon

*A.D.*1641 upon the Parliament of *England* being agai
18 *Car.* I. assembled, pretended to be in a great Conſter
nation, and ſent to the Earl of *Eſſex* (whon
the King had deputed Lieutenant-Genera
South of *Trent*) for a Guard for their Securi
ty, which was evidently done to ſtrike a Ter
ror into the People. But what infatuated th
Multitude, and incited their Rage againſt thei
Soveraign more than any other Calumny th
Faction, or the Devil their Father, ever rais'd
was the charging the King with being th
Author of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre, which happen'
while his Majeſty was in *Scotland*.

The *Iriſh* Maſſacre. The *Iriſh* Papiſts, obſerving that they wer
treated like a conquer'd People, and, whe
they complained to the *Engliſh* Parliamen
that their Commiſſioners were diſmiſſed wit
diſobliging and threatning Anſwers, intima
ting, that not only their Religion, but the ver
Notion of ancient *Iriſh* were intended to b
extirpated; they began to apprehend they ha
no way left to preſerve themſelves, but by
general Rebellion, to which they were encou
raged by the Example the *Scots* had ſet then
by the ill State of the King's Affairs, the Re
moval of the Lord *Strafford*, then Governo
and by the disbanding of the Army he ha
raiſed there for the King's Service, which th
Parliament of *England* had compelled his Ma
jeſty to break. They did not at firſt deſig
to have maſſacred the *Engliſh*; but takin
Arms on the 23d of *October*, by a gener
Conſent, and finding their Conſpiracy diſco
ver'd and defeated in the Capital City
Dublin, and a greater Oppoſition than the
expected in many other Places, they did mu
der and maſſacre upwards of Ten thouſan
of the *Engliſh* in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom

It is true, the ſame lying Faction, that threw this Maſſacre upon the King, aggravated Matters to a very great degree; giving out, that no leſs than an Hundred thouſand *Engliſh* Proteſtants were deſtroyed, in order to render his Majeſty the more odious to his Subjects: But upon the beſt Information I can get, there were about Ten thouſand Men deſtroyed in cold Blood, beſides thoſe that fell in Battles and Skirmiſhes afterwards. And, notwithſtanding the Puritans of both Kingdoms endeavour'd to fix this Maſſacre upon the *Engliſh* Court, it appears, that the Earl of *Argyle* and the Heads of the Puritans in *Scotland*, really incited this Rebellion in the Neighbouring Kingdom of *Ireland*, purely to embarraſs the King's Affairs; while the Brethren in *England* had the Addreſs to turn the Odium of it upon the Government, as has been their Practice in many other Conſpiracies. Certain it is, the King was under the greateſt Conſternation, when he firſt heard of this Rebellion, and wrote to the Parliament of *England* to inform them, *That it was no raſh Inſurrection, but a contrived Rebellion, ſuch as muſt be proſecuted with a ſharp War, the Management of which he wholly committed to their Care and Wiſdom, depending upon them for the carrying it on.* But the Faction, looking upon this Rebellion as favourable to their Deſigns as that of *Scotland*, made but very little haſte in raiſing of Supplies to ſuppreſs it; and when they did raiſe ſome Supplies afterwards, under pretence of the *Iriſh* War, employed moſt of the Money in raiſing Forces againſt his Majeſty. Their Time at preſent was taken up with hammering out a Remonſtrance to render his Majeſty odious to his People;

A.D. 1641
18 Car. I.

*A.D.*1641 18 *Car.* I.

A Seditious Remonstrance.

People; wherein they charge him with all the Grievances that had been complained of from the beginning of his Reign, tho' they had been every one redreſſed to their own Satisfaction: They enumerated alſo all the Misfortunes of his Reign, aſcribing them to his Majeſty's ill Conduct; as the ill Succeſs at *Cadiz*, the Loſs of *Rochelle*, and that of the Palatinate in his Father's Time, and with the late calamitous Wars in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, being much the ſame with the Charge of the Regicides, when he was afterwards brought before the pretended High-Court of Juſtice. But, as factious and corrupted as the Houſe of Commons then was, this Remonſtrance was carried but by Nine Voices; and that after they had play'd all their Stratagems, and perfectly wearied out a great part of the Houſe by tedious Debates, which laſted almoſt two Days and two Nights, they took the Opportunity, it ſeems, when ſeveral Members had retired to take their natural Reſt and Refreſhment, to put it to the Vote, and carried it by that inconſiderable majority abovementioned; the Children of Darkneſs being ever wiſer, ever more induſtrious, than the Children of Light.

The King entertain'd by the City.

However, the City of *London* were not yet ſo debauched and corrupted in their Loyalty, but they gave his Majeſty a very grand and hoſpitable Reception on his Return from *Scotland*: Sir *Richard Gourney*, the Lord-Mayor, deteſting the late rebellious Tumults, and in ſome meaſure to allow for the Diſreſpect the lower Claſs of People had ſhewn towards his Majeſty, met him as he approached the Town, at the head of the Aldermen and principal Citizens; and, having congratulated his Return, made a magnificent Entertainment for the

he King and Court at *Guildhall*, attending iim afterwards to his Palace of *Whitehall*. *A.D.* 1641 — 18 *Car.* I.

His Majesty the next Day repaired to *Hampton-Court*, designing to have spent the Winter there; but, upon an Address from the City, in which they disclaimed the late insolent Tumults, and promised to endeavour to prevent the like for the future, their Majesties were pleased to return to *Whitehall*, and keep their *Christmas* there: But the factious Part of the House of Commons, however, took care he should enjoy but little Quiet in a Palace situated so near them; for he was scarce settled there, when they presented him with their Remonstrance above-mentioned, reproaching his Administration from his Accession to that Day; tho' there was not a Grievance, real or pretended, but he had actually redress'd in the manner they desired. Thus the King, every Day meeting with fresh Mortifications, either from the malicious Votes of the Commons, or the Insults of the Rabble they encouraged to affront him, and not having one Counsellor or Servant about him, on whose Ability and Integrity he could rely, proceeded in his Design of preferring more of the principal Leaders of the Commons, who had hitherto appear'd in an opposite Interest to the Court; imagining that either Gratitude, or Interest, might induce some of them to assist him in extricating himself out of these perplex'd and afflicting Circumstances: Nor was he altogether deceived; for the Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Hyde* (afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*) and Sir *John Colepepper*, had so much Compassion on their injured Soveraign, or Regard to themselves and the falling State, as to endeavour, by their future Conduct, to make some amends for the Injuries they had done his Majesty

The King prefers more of the opposite Party.

Mr. *Hyde*, Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, who come into his Measures.

*A.D.*1641 Majeſty and the Conſtitution. Theſe three, together with the Lord *Digby*, were now taken into his Majeſty's moſt private Councils, and ſcarce any thing tranſacted without them. The Lord *Falkland* was made Secretary of State; Sir *John Colepepper* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*; the Lord *Digby* was called up to the Houſe of Lords, after he had been expelled the Lower Houſe for appearing in his Majeſty's Intereſt; and Mr. *Hyde* had an Aſſurance of ſuch Places as perfectly ſatisfied him. But this ſeems to be no ſmall Reflection on theſe great Men, that they were not ſenſible of their Duty to his Majeſty, or attempted to preſerve their ſinking Country, till their private Intereſts led them to conſider theſe Matters; and, indeed, they came in ſo late, that we find all their Endeavours to reſtore and ſettle the ſhatter'd Conſtitution proved ineffectual. The Lord *Clarendon*, 'tis true, ſeems to lament that his Majeſty had not employ'd them ſooner; but, ſurely, the King had much more Reaſon to complain, that they ſo long continued to aggravate every little Miſcarriage, and aſſiſted the Faction to arrive at that Power we find them poſſeſs'd of when theſe Gentlemen left them. But to proceed; the King did not only prefer ſuch Gentlemen in the Civil Government as had hitherto adhered to his Enemies, but he did the ſame in the Church. Dr. *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was made Archbiſhop of *York*; Dr. *Duppa*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, was tranſlated to *Salisbury*; the See of *Carliſle* was given to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, Primate of *Ireland*, during the Troubles in that Kingdom; with ſeveral other Alterations of the like Nature; moſt of thoſe who were advanced being *Anti-armenians*, or Maintainers of uncon-

18 *Car.* I.

Williams and other Biſhops preferred.

unconditional Decrees, who had oppoſed Archbiſhop *Laud* and the Court-Biſhops: But this would not ſatisfy the Puritans; we find theſe very moderate Epiſcopalians met with little better Quarter from the Saints than thoſe, who had always appeared ſtrenuous Defenders of the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Eſtabliſh'd Church. *A.D.* 1641 / 18 *Car.* I.

In the mean time, the Commons pretended to be farther diſguſted with his Majeſty, for ordering the Guards they had placed about the Parliament to be diſmiſs'd at his Return: And when the King repreſented, he did not ſee any Reaſon there was for a Guard, or if they apprehended there was, that they might have ſome Companies of the Militia drawn up for their Security; they inſiſted, that they would have a Guard of their own chooſing, and a General *they could confide in*, naming the Earl of *Eſſex* (their future General;) which ſhews, there was at that time a good Underſtanding between that Nobleman and the Faction: But I ſhould have taken notice, that the Commons, with their Remonſtrance, preſented an Addreſs to his Majeſty, That he would deprive the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, and reſtrain the Power of the Clergy; That he would remove his evil Counſellors, and employ none but thoſe *they could confide in*. To which the King anſwer'd, That the Biſhops Rights were grounded on the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and Conſtitution of Parliaments; and as to evil Counſellors, he deſired they would name the obnoxious Perſons, and produce their Proofs againſt them, and forbear their general Aſperſions. His Majeſty alſo cauſed a Declaration to be publiſh'd in Anſwer to their ſeditious Remonſtrance, which

The Commons inſiſt upon a Guard and a General of their own chooſing.

The K.'s Anſwer to their Remonſtrance, omitted by *Ruſhworth*

*A D.*1641 *Ruſhworth* has not been ſo juſt to give us,
18 *Car.* I. tho' he has printed the Remonſtrance; which is a ſufficient Evidence of that Compiler's Partiality. The Declaration, however, may be found in *Nalſon*'s and *Huſbands*'s Collections.

In this Declaration his Majeſty expoſes the pretended Fears and Jealouſies with which the Commons had alarmed and terrified the People, in relation to their Liberties and Properties. He declares his Reſolution to maintain the Proteſtant Religion againſt Popery, and that he was willing to indulge the Diſſenters and Tender Conſcience: He enumerates the many Conceſſions he had made, and the Acts he had paſs'd, for the Redreſs of all their Grievances, real or imaginary: Remembers, that he had ſuffer'd his Miniſters to undergo their ſevereſt Inquiſition: That he had not protected any one Perſon the Parliament had complained of, or preferred one Perſon this Seſſion that was unacceptable to the People; and promiſed to comply ſtill with whatever his Subjects could reaſonably demand; and concluded with conjuring them to join with him in reſtoring Peace to *Ireland*, and preſerving the Tranquillity of *England*.

Expreſſes arriving frequently from *Ireland* about this Time, giving an Account of the Diſtreſs the Proteſtants were in there, the Commons brought in a Bill to preſs Men for that Service; in which they recite, That the King had no Power to preſs Men, but in Caſes of Invaſion; which, being juſtly looked upon as a Prejudice to his Majeſty's Prerogative, the Lords refuſed to paſs it: Whereupon the Commons took upon them to be angry again, and choſe to let great Part of *Ireland* be loſt, rather than concur with his Majeſty in Meaſures

for

for the Relief of that Kingdom; tho' at the same time they had the Assurance to ascribe all the Miseries of that Kingdom to his Majesty; and, at length, *St. John*, the Solicitor-General, by a Trick, prevailed on the Peers and his Majesty to pass the Bill, with another for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament. *A.D.*1641 — 18 *Car.* I. An Act for pressing Soldiers. Another for depriving the Bishops of their Votes

The Commons proceeded soon after to bring in a Bill for putting the Militia of the Kingdom into their Power; and tho' it was read but once at this time, yet they began to act as if they had actually obtained the Command of that Body. They obliged his Majesty to displace Colonel *Sandsford*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, under pretence *they could not confide in him*; threatening him with an Insurrection of the *London* Rabble if he refused it: Nor did this Compliance put a Stop to those Tumults; Multitudes came down to the Houses of Parliament, with a Petition, that Prelacy, and all that adhered to it, as well as Popery, might be rooted out; bawling out, at the Door of the House of Peers, *No Bishops, No Popish Lords, No rotten-hearted Lords.* And when the Lords complained of these Tumults, and desired the Commons to join with them in suppressing them, *Pym* and his Party answer'd, *God forbid they should discourage People from obtaining their just Desires: It was a Time they must make use of all their Friends*; and the like. And when some Justices of Peace set Constables and a Watch to prevent these Disorders, they were discharged by the Commons, and one of the Justices sent to the *Tower* for his Diligence to preserve the Peace: Nor would they suffer either Sheriffs or other Officers to do their Duties in suppressing these Riots, but encouraged

The Commons oblige his Majesty to turn out the Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

They encourage the Tumults.

*A.D.*1641 encouraged the Rabble to arm themſelves, and
18 *Car.* I. to inſult ſuch Members of either Houſe as would not conſent to the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, and the depriving of the King of his juſt and undoubted Prerogatives; which, I believe, every Lawyer at this Day will admit was an actual levying War againſt the King and Government; and can go under no other Name than High Treaſon and Rebellion.

One of theſe Mobs paſſing by *Whitehall*, and inſulting the King in his Palace, ſome Officers of the late Army, whom his Majeſty had entertained to protect him againſt their Violence, not being able to perſuade the Rabble to diſperſe by fair means, ſtruck and ſlightly wounded one or two of the Rioters with their Swords; and (*David Hyde*) particularly ſaid he would cut the Throats of thoſe *Roundheaded Dogs*, who looked upon it as a Sin to wear their Hair longer than their Ears, and bawled againſt Biſhops; from whence, 'tis ſaid, the Terms of *Roundhead* and *Cavalier*, which afterwards diſtinguiſhed the Loyaliſts and Rebels, firſt aroſe. But however that was, the Commons pretended that this Oppoſition of the Mob was a levying War by the King; and their Agents and Incendiaries in the City incited the People to riſe in their Defence, *for the King and the Papiſts*, they ſaid, *were coming to fire the City, and cut their Throats*; which wrought them up to the utmoſt Rage and Madneſs.

Twelve Biſhops impeached of High-Treaſon for aſſerting their Rights.

In the mean time, twelve of the Biſhops, meeting at the Archbiſhop of *York*'s Houſe, had the Courage to ſign a Petition and Proteſt, directed to the King and the Lords in Parliament, declaring that all Laws, Orders, Votes, and Determinations, paſs'd during their forced

forced Abſence from the Houſe were void: Whereupon the Commons immediately impeach'd them all of High-Treaſon, and they were committed to the *Tower* on the 30th of *December*, except two of them, who were not capable of being removed from their Houſes, on account of their Age and Infirmities. *A.D.* 1641 — 18 *Car.* I.

Theſe outragious Proceedings of the Commons began to open People's Eyes, and loſt them the Hearts of many; inſomuch that the Lord *Clarendon* was of Opinion they would have been obliged to give over all farther Attempts for the Alteration of the Government, if it had not been for that raſh Project the King was put upon by the Lord *Digby* at this Time, of charging the Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and Mr. *Strode*, five of the moſt factious Members in the Houſe of Commons, with High-Treaſon, for endeavouring to ſubvert the Government, to deprive the King of his Regal Power, to corrupt the late Army, inviting a Foreign Power to invade the Kingdom, raiſing Tumults, and actually levying War againſt the King and Parliament. *A* 1641-2 — 19 *Car.* I.

The King charges the Lord *Kimbolton* and five of the Commons with High-Treaſon.

His Majeſty, it ſeems, had ordered the Attorney-General to proſecute the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members above-mentioned, for theſe treaſonable Practices; and ſent the Serjeant at Arms to the Houſe of Commons to demand and apprehend them; but the Commons took the five Members into their Protection, and would not ſuffer the Serjeant to execute his Warrant: At which the King was ſo highly incens'd, that he went the next Day to the Houſe of Commons, attended by about Five hundred Officers and Gentlemen, whom he

A. 1641-2 19 *Car.* I.

he left at the Door; and entering the Houſe, after the Speaker had reſigned the Chair to him, he demanded whether the five Members were in the Houſe: To which receiving no Anſwer, and finding they were withdrawn, he ſaid, no King would be more careful to maintain their Privilege than himſelf; but in Caſes of Treaſon no Perſon had any Privilege; and expected therefore that thoſe Members ſhould be delivered up to him; aſſuring them, on the Word of a King, that he never intended to uſe Force, but ſhould proſecute them in a legal Way. After which his Majeſty withdrew, and retired to *Whitehall*; being followed with a confuſed Cry of *Privilege*, *Privilege*, *&c.*

The King goes to the Houſe of Commons and demands the five Members.

Proceedings of the Commons thereupon.

The Commons met the next Day, and voted this Action of the King's a High Breach of Privilege, and that they could no longer ſit there in Security, till they had raiſed a ſtronger Guard for their Defence, and then adjourned for Seven Days, and order'd a Committee to ſit at *Guildhall* to conſider of the important Affairs of the Kingdom.

The King publiſhing a Proclamation for apprehending the criminal Members, the City had recourſe to Arms to defend them, and their Mobs began to grow very formidable. Whereupon his Majeſty went into the City, attended only with three or four Lords; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen being aſſembled, he told them, that he was ſorry to obſerve thoſe Tumults, and hoped they would not harbour thoſe Members that were charged with High-Treaſon, whom he deſigned to proceed againſt in a legal Way; and therefore there was no manner of Reaſon to entertain any Apprehenſions of Danger. But as he returned from the City, they followed

lowed him, crying out *Privilege of Parliament*; *to your Tents, O Iſrael &c.* and ſome ſaid, *the King was not fit to live.* And having raiſed and armed a numerous Mob, that marched to *Whitehall* and *Weſtminſter*, and inſulted his Majeſty in his own Palace, and ſufficiently terrified his Friends and Adherents; the King thought fit to remove to *Hampton-Court*, and the Citizens in a hoſtile Manner with great Guns and other warlike Inſtruments, carried the criminal Members in great Triumph to *Weſtminſter*, and reſtored them to their Seats in the Houſe of Commons. *A.* 1641-2 / 18 *Car.* I.

Whether the Lord *Clarendon's* Conjecture be right, that the King's going to the Houſe of Commons, to ſeize the five obnoxious Members, was the Ruin of his Affairs, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but it is very obvious the Noble Hiſtorian ſeldom approves of any Meaſures he himſelf did not adviſe: And the Juſtice and Legality of apprehending thoſe Members (who had long been engaged in a traiterous Conſpiracy againſt the Government, actually armed the Rabble againſt him, and invited Foreigners to invade their native Country) can never be brought in Queſtion; for in Caſes of High-Treaſon, Felony and Breach of the Peace, It was never pretended, that Privilege of Parliament could protect any Man; ſo that the King muſt ever remain acquitted as to the Juſtice of this proceeding, however his Prudence may have been arraigned. But further, had not his Majeſty's Deſign of apprehending theſe Members been betrayed; had they been taken try'd and convicted of High-Treaſon; it is not improbable, that ſo briſk

The King might juſtly have apprehended the five Members.

But whether it was prudent at this time.

A. 1641-2 a Proceeding might have been of infinite Ser-
18 *Car.* I. vice to his Cauſe; for he would thereby have taken off the moſt popular and dangerous Heads of the Faction, and deterred others from venturing upon the like treaſonable Practices. The Miſcarriage of it indeed was of great Advantage to his Enemies; as it gave them a further Opportunity of inſpiring the People with Fears and Jealouſies, a Pretence for impriſoning ſome of the King's Friends, and compelling others to fly beyond Sea. But to be a little more particular: The King and the Royal Family being daily threatened and inſulted by the *London* Rabble, which paſſed by his Palace in their way to *Weſtminſter*, left *Whitehall* on the 10th of *January*, and removed to *Hampton-Court*, whither he was followed with inſolent Petitions for further Reformation, which obliged him to go from thence to *Windſor* for his Quiet and Security. While the King remained here, he ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, offering to wave the Proſecution of the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members of the Commons, and to grant a general Pardon for all that had paſſed; but the Commons ſlighted the Grace, and, having aſſumed ſoveraign Power, reſolved that no Member could be apprehended or proſecuted even for High-Treaſon, without the Leave of the Houſe. Then they impeached the Attorney-General Sir *Edward Herbert*, for exhibiting Articles againſt their Members; and the Lords gave Sentence againſt him, *That he ſhould be diſabled to be a Member, Aſſiſtant, or Pleader, in either Houſe, and remain a Priſoner in the Fleet, during the Pleaſure of the two Houſes.* The Lord *Digby* was

The King driven from *Whitehall.*

Goes to *Windſor.*

Offers a general Pardon, which is refuſed.

The Attorny-General proſecuted for exhibiting a Charge againſt the five Members.

was also impeached of High-Treason, and forced to fly beyond Sea; and Colonel *Sandsford*, a brave Officer whom they had compelled the King to deprive of his Post of Lieutenant of the Tower, was sent a Prisoner thither by their usurped Authority. *A.* 1641-2 18 *Car.* I.

The King sent the two Houses another Message on the 20th of *January*, wherein he offer'd to pass any Acts, that might tend to their Security, and remove those Jealousies and Fears, with which the People were distracted. Whereupon the Lords proposed the returning his Majesty Thanks; but the Commons opposed it, and drew up a Petition to his Majesty to put the Tower and the principal Fortresses in the Kingdom, into their Hands together with the Militia; in which they afterwards by their Clamours and armed Mobbs, compelled the Lords to join. And his Majesty was prevailed on by their Importunity to displace Sir *John Byron*, then Lieutenant of the Tower; and make Sir *John Conyers*, who was more acceptable to them, Lieutenant in his Room. Thus his Majesty in a manner yielded up that important Fortress into their Hands; by putting in a Lieutenant, that durst not disobey their Orders. The King had no sooner yielded this Point, but he was pressed to pass the Bill for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and rendring them and the rest of the Clergy incapable of exercising any temporal Jurisdiction. And this, 'tis said, his Majesty was prevailed on also to give his Assent to, upon an Assurance he should not be importuned to pass any other Bills to the Prejudice of his Prerogative; but his Majesty seems to have been too well ap-

The King endeavours to accommodate Matters.

The Commons Petition for the Militia and Forts to be put into their Hands.

They get *Conyers* made Governor of the Tower.

And prevail on the King to pass the Bill for excluding the Bishops from the House of Lords.

A. 1641-2 prized of their insatiable Thirst of Power, at this time to be over-reached by any such Artifice. It is much more probable, that he was wrought upon by the Fears and pressing Instances of the Queen; who, apprehending she should be made the first Sacrifice to the Fury of the enraged Multitude, prevailed on the King to indulge the Faction in this Instance, that she might find an Opportunity in the mean time of getting beyond the Reach of their Malice; for it had been resolved by the Court, that the Queen and the young Princess of *Orange* should embark in a few Days for *Holland*. There are others, that suppose the Priests and Popish Party put the Queen upon persuading his Majesty to pass this Bill, as they foresaw it would be infinitely prejudicial to the Church of *England*, and the Protestant Interest in general. But however that was, the factious Party were so far from being satisfied by the passing that fatal Bill, that they from time to time renewed their Instances, that his Majesty would put the Militia into their Hands; to which he did not give any positive Answer, till he had conducted the Queen and the Princess of *Orange* to *Dover*, and seen them embark (*February* 23.) for *Holland*; after which, returning to his Palace of *Greenwich*, and sending for the Prince of *Wales* to come to him thither, the Commons endeavour'd to intercept the Prince, but were disappointed in their treasonable Attempt.

18 *Car.* I.

The Q. and Princess of *Orange* sent to *Holland*.

The Commons attempt to get Prince *Charles* into their Hands.

Still the Commons persisted to petition his Majesty to put the Militia into their Hands; but it seems they were determined to make themselves Masters of that Body, whether the

King

King consented to it or not; for at this very time, the Leaders of the Faction in several Counties, were drawing them out, exercising and modelling them to their Minds, which they did not scruple to declare, was in order to serve the Parliament. And when the King communicated his Reasons to the two Houses, why he could not settle the Militia as they desired, the Commons voted, *That those, who advised his Majesty to return that Answer, were Publick Enemies to the Kingdom; and that such Counties, as had already put themselves in a Posture of Defence, had done nothing, but what was justifiable and approved by both Houses*; and sent a Committee to the King at *Theobald*'s, who declared, that if his Majesty persisted in his Refusal to pass the Militia Bill, they were resolved to settle the Militia without him: They insisted also, he should deliver up the wicked Counsellors about him, and put the Prince of *Wales* into their Hands; protesting, that the King had no Power over the Militia; and that those, who had put themselves in a Posture of Defence, concurred with the Direction of both Houses, and were justifiable by *Law*. To which the King answer'd, he had well consider'd the Militia Bill, and saw no Reason to alter his Mind; that he had still no Thoughts but of Peace, which he should endeavour to maintain, relying on the Goodness of God for his Preservation.

A. 1641-2
18 *Car.* I.

The Commons raise the Militia by their own Authority.

And justify it.

This Answer being reported to the two Houses, they resolved immediately to put the Kingdom into a Posture of Defence by their own Authority; and that all Lord-Lieutenants and Officers should deliver up their Commissions

A. 1641-2 Commiſſions to be cancell'd as illegal; that
18 *Car.* I. the Admiral, the Earl of *Northumberland*,
ſhould equip the Royal Navy, and employ
They ſeize on the Royal Navy. the Earl of *Warwick*, and ſuch Officers under him, as the two Houſes ſhould appoint. Whereupon the Forces by Sea and Land were officer'd and modell'd, as was moſt agreeable to the Faction; and on the 5th of
They paſs an Ordinance for taking the Militia out of the K's Hands. *March* 1641-2, the Ordinance of the two Houſes, for the Regulation of the Militia, or rather for wreſting it out of his Majeſty's Hands, was publiſhed; which being but ſhort, and amounting to a Declaration of War againſt the Crown and Government, I ſhall give the Reader in their own Words.

The Ordinance. "Whereas there hath been of late a moſt "dangerous and deſperate Deſign upon the "Houſe of Commons, which we have juſt "Cauſe to believe to be an Effect of the "bloody Councils of Papiſts and other ill "affected Perſons, who have already raiſed "a Rebellion in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; "and by reaſon of many Diſcoveries, we "cannot but fear they will proceed, not on"ly to ſtir up the like Rebellion and In"ſurrections in this Kingdom of *England*, "but alſo to back them with Forces from "Abroad.

"For the Safety therefore of his Majeſty's "Perſon, the Parliament and Kingdom, in "this time of imminent Danger; It is or"dained, by the Lords and Commons, now "in Parliament aſſembled, That *Henry*, Earl "of *Holland*, ſhall be Lieutenant of the "County of *Berks*; *Oliver*, Earl of *Bulling*"*brooke*, ſhall be Lieutenant of the County "of *Bedford*, *&c.* and the ſaid Lord-Lieu"tenants ſhall ſeverally and reſpectively

"have

"have Power to assemble and call together all and singular his Majesty's Subjects, within the said several and respective Counties and Places, as well within their Liberties as without, that are meet and fit for the War; and them to train and exercise, and put in Readiness; and them, after their Abilities and Faculties, well and sufficiently, from time to time, to cause to be array'd and weapon'd, and to take the Muster of them in Places fit for that Purpose. And that they shall severally and respectively have Power, within the several and respective Counties and Places aforesaid, to nominate and appoint such Persons of Quality, as to them shall seem meet, to be their Deputy-Lieutenants, to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. And be it further ordained, That Sir *John Gayre*, Sir *Jacob Garret*, Knights, *&c.* shall have such Power and Authority within the City of *London*, as any of the Lieutenants before-named are authorised to have by this Ordinance, within the said several and respective Counties (the Nomination and Appointment of Deputy-Lieutenants only excepted.) And it is further ordained, That such Persons, as shall not obey in any of the Premises, shall answer their Neglect and Contempt to the Lords and Commons in a Parliamentary Way; and not otherwise, nor elsewhere: And that every the Powers granted as aforesaid, shall continue until it be otherwise order'd or declar'd by both Houses of Parliament, and no longer."

A. 1641-2
18 *Car.* I.

The

A. 1641-2
18 *Car.* I.

The King moves Northward.

The King being now fully convinc'd, that the Faction intended to maintain their Uſurpation by Force, determin'd to move towards *York*, in order to ſave his Magazine at *Hull*, and make ſome Preparations for his Defence; for notwithſtanding his Enemies had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Royal Navy, the Militia, the Tower of *London*, *Portſmouth*, *Hull*, and the Revenues of the Crown, his Majeſty had not yet raiſed a ſingle Regiment, or even a Guard for his Perſon, which muſt acquit him before God and Man of any Deſign to make War on his Subjects, and being the Occaſion of the Miſeries that afterwards enſued: And indeed the Nation were ſo far convinc'd of his peaceable Diſpoſition, and his Readineſs to grant every thing they could demand for the Security of their Religion and Liberties, that they ſoon after abandon'd the Faction in Crouds, and appeared in Defence of their Soveraign, whereby he was enabled to make a better Stand than could have been expected in the unfortunate Circumſtances he was reduced to, by his unbounded Conceſſions.

He has neither Forces or Guards.

Before I proceed in the Hiſtory of this Reign, give me leave to examine the Account the Writers of *Rapin* give of the Grounds and Occaſion of the Civil Wars, and the Arguments made uſe of by the Faction themſelves, and theſe Advocates of Anarchy, to juſtify the grand Rebellion.

Arguments us'd by *Rapin* and the Faction, in Defence of the Rebellion.

The Faction inſiſted, that when the Rights and Privileges of the Subject were invaded by the Prince, the two Houſes by the fundamental Laws of the Land might compel him by Force to relinquiſh and renounce ſuch Encroachments, and put it out of his Power

Power to invade the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects for the future. Then they affirm, That the King had broke the Laws, and encroached on the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects for the first fifteen Years of his Reign: And tho' he had redressed all their Greviances, and passed several Acts, which had restrained him from exercising any Excess of Power for the future, and retrenched his Prerogatives; yet his having governed in an arbitrary Manner for fifteen Years, and the Plots they had discover'd against the Parliament at the time of passing those Acts, gave them Reason to fear he would resume the same arbitrary Government again; which could not be prevented, but by taking the Militia from him, and transferring the Command of that Body to the two Houses; or rather by resuming that soveraign Power they were entrusted with by the *fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom, when their Liberties and Properties were in Danger from the Prince; insinuating, that the King was no more than the Officer of the Republick, and might be restrained and deposed for Male-administrations by the two Houses, in whom the soveraign Power was originally lodged; and consequently the King, and his Adherents the Cavaliers who opposed the two Houses, were in reality the Rebels. *A.* 1641-2 / 18 *Car.* I.

Their Friends, the Authors of *Rapin*, seem to differ from their Brethren in some Particulars, tho' they agree with them in the main, *That their Resistance was not only innocent, but laudable:* For they say, that by the Kings encroaching on the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, the Government *Rapin* differs with the Faction in some Particulars, but they agree in the main.

A. 1641-2 was diſſolved, and the People empower'd to
18 *Car.* I. ſettle what Governnment they ſaw fit; that ſuppoſing the Laws had been in Force indeed, they were on the King's ſide; but things were no longer in their natural State; and therefore when the King ſhews his Right to the Militia *&c.* he ſays nothing to the purpoſe, becauſe the Laws were no longer in Force, Things were *out of their natural State.* And this is repeated forty times in the Eleventh Volume of the *Octavo* Edition of *Rapin*, *Tindal*'s Tranſlation.

In ſhort, the Faction ſay, the two Houſes had a Right to reſiſt, by the fundamental Laws of the Land; and the Authors of *Rapin* ſay, that by the King's invading the Subjects Liberties and Properties, the Government was diſſolved, and the People were at Liberty to ſettle what Government they pleaſed: And conſequently, *The Rebellion is juſtified by both of them*, tho' upon different Principles.

There are however ſeveral Acts of Parliament ſtill in Force, which declare, that the two Houſes have no Right to command the Militia, to ſoveraign Power, or to put any Force upon the King; as the Act of
12 *Car.* II. *Cap.* 30. for the Attainder of the Regicides. the 12 *Car.* II. *Cap.* 30. for the Attainder of the Regicides. Wherein both Houſes declare, That by the undoubted and *fundamental Laws* of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together in Parliament, nor the People collectively or repreſentatively, nor any other Perſons whatſoever had, have, hath or ought to have, any coercive Power over the Kings of this Realm. *And it is obſervable, that this Declaration was made, with a particular*

lar View to the Reſiſtance and Forces raiſed againſt this very Prince, King Charles I. By the Militia Act, the 13 and 14 *Car.* II. *Cap.* 3. it is declared, *That neither both, or either of the Houſes of Parliament, can, or lawfully may, raiſe or levy any War, Offenſive or Defenſive, againſt his Majeſty, his Heirs or lawful Succeſſors.* And by the Corporation Act, 13 *Car.* II. *Seſ.* 2. *Cap* 1. All Officers of Corporations were obliged to ſwear, *That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King:* And the ſame is required of all Eccleſiaſticks by 13 and 14 *Car.* II. *Cap.* 4. In the 14 *Car.* II. *Cap.* 29. being the Act for the reverſing of the Attainder of the late Earl of *Strafford*, it is recited, that "Whereas *Thomas*, late Earl of *Strafford*, "was impeached of High-Treaſon, upon "pretence of endeavouring to ſubvert the "fundamental Laws, and called to a publick "and ſolemn Arraignment and Tryal be"fore the Peers in Parliament, where he "made a particular Defence to every Ar"ticle objected againſt him, inſomuch that "the turbulent Party, then ſeeing no hopes "to effect their unjuſt Deſigns by any or"dinary Way and Method of Proceedings, "did at laſt reſolve to attempt the Deſtruc"tion and Attainder of the ſaid Earl, by "an Act of Parliament to be therefore pur"poſely made to condemn him upon ac"cumulative Treaſon, none of the pretend"ed Crimes being Treaſon apart, and ſo "could not be in the whole, if they had "been proved, as they were not; and alſo "judged him guilty of conſtructive Trea"ſon (that is) of levying War againſt the

A. 1641-2

18 *Car.* I.

13 and 14 *Car.* II. *Cap.* 3. Militia Act.

13 *Car.* II. *Seſ.* 2. *Cap.* 1. Corporation Act.

14 *Car.* II. *Cap.* 29. The Reverſal of E. *Strafford*'s Attainder.

A 1641-2 18 *Car.* I.

" King, tho' it was only the commanding " an Order of the Council-Board in *Ireland* " to be executed by a Serjeant at Arms and " three or four Soldiers, which was the con- " ſtant Practice of the Deputies there for a " long time: To which End, they having " firſt preſented a Bill for this Intent to the " Houſe of Commons, and finding there " more Oppoſition than they expected, they " cauſed a multitude of tumultuous Perſons, " to come down to *Weſtminſter*, armed with " Swords and Staves, and to fill both the " Palace-Yards and all the Approaches to " both Houſes of Parliament, with Fury and " Clamour, and to require *Juſtice, ſpeedy* " *Juſtice* againſt the Earl of *Strafford*. And " having by theſe and other undue Practi- " ſes obtained that Bill to paſs in the Houſe " of Commons, they cauſed the Names of " thoſe reſolute Gentlemen, who in a Caſe " of innocent Blood had freely diſcharged " their Conſciences, being Fifty-nine, to " be poſted up in ſeveral Places about the " Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and ſty- " led them *Straffordians* and Enemies to " their Country, hoping thereby to deliver " them up to the Fury of the People, whom " they had endeavoured to incenſe againſt " them, and then procured the ſaid Bill to " be ſent up to the Houſe of Peers, where it " having ſome time reſted under great Delibe- " ration; at laſt, in a time when a great part " of the Peers were abſent by reaſon of the " Tumults, and many of thoſe who were " preſent proteſted againſt it, the ſaid Bill " paſſed in the Houſe of Peers."

Which laſt Act is recited here, to ſhew the Force that was put upon the two Houſes

ſes by the Faction, in the Year 1641. And that unleſs many of the Members had been driven away, and others compelled by Threats and Tumults to vote the Deſtruction of the King and Government, they could never have effected their ſeditious and traiterous Purpoſe; and conſequently the Faction muſt never hope to ſhelter themſelves under the Authority of the two Houſes of Parliament, who had a Force put upon them, as well as the King: But this ſhall be further evinc'd by a great Variety of notorious Facts, moſt of them confeſſed by the Faction themſelves, or their Advocates the Writers of *Rapin*.

A. 1641-2
18 *Car.* I.

The Faction put a Force upon the two Houſes, as well as the King.

Proved by their own Conceſſions in *Rapin* and elſewhere.

Now, if it has been proved to a Demonſtration, that the two Houſes of Parliament have in the moſt ſolemn Manner voluntarily diſclaim'd and renounc'd all Right to command the Militia; to the Exerciſe of Soveraign Power; or to coerce, or put any Force whatever upon the King, on any Pretence; that the two Houſes and the People in general, in the Year 1641, were perfectly ſatisfied with the Conceſſions made by the King and the Acts paſſed for ſecuring their Liberties and Properties, until they were impoſed on, by falſe Rumours raiſed by the Faction, and, by Tumults incited by them, compelled to vote and act againſt the King and Government, and many of them driven away from both Houſes, before the Faction could obtain their Ends: The grand Rebellion muſt ſtill be deem'd a Rebellion, notwithſtanding that Rump or Dregs of a Parliament continued to aſſume that Name, after

A. 1641-2 after they had expelled the honeſt Members,
18 *Car.* I. in order to countenance their Uſurpation.

The Authors of *Rapin*, Vol. II. p. 22 and 23, admit, that "Some of the Members were "of Opinion, that, after all their Grievances "were redreſs'd, the Government ſhould be "reſtored to its natural State; and theſe "in many places they acknowledge, were at "firſt a Majority: But there were others of "the Faction, who thought that after their "Grievances were redreſs'd, it would be ne-"ceſſary to put it out of the King's Power "ever to invade the Liberties of the People, "and the Privileges of Parliament again.

Practices to influence the Houſes, confeſs'd by *Rapin*.

"*Theſe Men carefully concealed their Thoughts* "(which is an Evidence, that a Majority in "each Houſe were againſt them) *leſt they* "*ſhould give Occaſion to the others* (the Majo-"rity) *to ſuſpect there was a deſign to alter* "*the Eſtabliſh'd Government:* They hoped to "find, or ſtart in Time, Opportunities enough "to inſpire the whole Nation with a *Diſtruſt* "of the King; and by that means accompliſh "their Ends." Page 24, they ſay, "That

A Majority againſt altering the Government confeſs'd.

"in the Beginning of the Parliament, the "Members *in general* had no Intention to "ſtrike at the Government of the Eſtabliſh'd "Church; but that the Principles of the ri-"gid Preſbyterians tended to the utter De-"ſtruction of the Church of *England*; and "they perceived, that, to attain their Ends, "*the King muſt be diſabled from oppoſing them*; "becauſe he would never conſent to this "Change. *Their Number, however, would* "*have made no Figure in Parliament*, had "they not been ſupported by the *Scots* (who "had the ſame Views.) That there lay alſo "concealed a certain Sett of Men, known

"after-

" afterwards by the Name of Independants, " who held uncommon Opinions concerning " the Civil as well as the Eccleſiaſtical Go- " vernment." (Indeed both Preſbyterians and Independants were for deſtroying the Monarchy, and erecting a Republick from the beginning, whatever the Authors of *Rapin* may ſuggeſt to the contrary, if we may judge by the Event.) They admit farther, p. 25, " *That the whole Presbyterian Party was di-* " *rected by the Heads of the rigid Presbyteri-* " *ans and Independants, who, without diſco-* " *vering themſelves more than was neceſſary* " *at firſt, ſeemed to confine their Deſigns to* " *the Redreſs of Grievances; whereby they* " *avoided all Suſpicion of their intending to* " *change the Government in Church and State,* " *and prevented a Union between the reſt of* " *the Members, who would not have failed to* " *join in oppoſing ſuch a Change.*" (So that, from the Confeſſion of their Friends, a Majority of the Members were not for ſeizing and uſurping the Royal Prerogatives, till Force and Artifice had been uſed to bring them under the Power or Influence of the Faction.) And in the ſame Page, ſpeaking of the Independants, they admit, That it was the Intereſt of theſe Men to manage ſo, that the Government of the State might be changed, or rather overthrown, well knowing that their Party could never ſubſiſt, but in Anarchy; and therefore, without diſcovering their Intentions, *they improved all Occaſions to ſow Diſcord between the King and Parliament. The Majority had no other View, but to gain Time till the Civil Grievances were redreſs'd, without any Deſign to go farther; but they had to do with very able Heads* (knaviſh Heads) *who knew how to make*

A. 1641-2 — 18 *Car.* I.

Confeſs'd that it was the Intereſt of the Faction to ſubvert the Government.

A. 1641-2 *make them run greater Lengths than they at first intended.*

18 *Car.* I.

Hitherto the Authors of *Rapin* plainly declare, that a *Majority* of the Members (the Members in general) were not for leſſening the King's Power, or making any Alteration in the Government; *only the rigid Presbyterians and Independants had this View.* But, p. 47, they contradict themſelves as to this Point; and tell us, That the King's Adminiſtration, the firſt fifteen Years, had made too deep Impreſſions in the Minds of his Subjects, for the *Majority* ever to be perſuaded that he would, for the future, be contented with the Power allowed him by Law; and that it was this *Diſtruſt* was the immediate Cauſe of the War.

The Writers of *Rapin* contradict themſelves.

Page 13, the ſame Writers affirm, That the King's Project to gain the Army *begot* in the Parliament this *Diſtruſt*; and a Reſolution to put it out of his Power to break his Word, and the Means they uſed to this End, occaſioned the Civil Wars. (But if the King's Adminiſtration the firſt fifteen Years *created* this Diſtruſt, how could it be *begotten* by his Project to gain the Army?)

They contradict themſelves again as to the Occaſion of the Rebellion.

Again, the Authors of *Rapin* tell us, page 307, 321, and 322, That long after the Project of gaining the Army, they had not a Majority in either Houſe that would have conſented to the Deſtruction of the Church o *England*, or the Diminution of the King' Power; but that it was the charging the fiv Members with High-Treaſon, and attempting to ſeize them, that gave the Faction a Majo rity: For, by the ſame Rule theſe five wer charged with High-Treaſon, the reſt of th Houſe might have been ſo, who had correſpond ed with the *Scots*, countenanced Tumults, &c

Another eminent Inconſiſtency in thoſe Writers.

(Bu

(But if this *Diſtruſt* was occaſioned *by attempting to ſeize the five Members*, then was it not *begotten* either by the King's Adminiſtration the firſt fifteen Years, or by his Majeſty's Attempt to gain the Army, as thoſe Writers alledge before?) *A.* 1641-2 18 *Car.* I.

I ſhall next proceed to ſhew, from the Writers of *Rapin* themſelves, by what means the Faction really gained a Majority in both Houſes, *viz.* by the Influence of the *Scots*; by Threats; by expelling the honeſt Members; by ſeditious and rebellious Tumults, and by the moſt notorious Lyes and Calumnies that ever were invented. The wicked Means by which the Faction gained a Majority, confeſs'd in *Rapin*.

They tell us, p. 23, That the Entrance of the *Scots* into *England* was a very conſiderable Advantage put into the Hands of the *Engliſh* (the Preſbyterians and the reſt of that Faction) by Providence, to hinder the King's breaking their Meaſures. It was not therefore to be thought ſtrange, that the Parliament did not enable his Majeſty to chaſe the *Scots* out of the Kingdom; ſince their Preſence gave the two Houſes (or rather the Faction) a Superiority. Confeſs'd that the two Houſes were influenced by the *Scotiſh* Army.

Page 48, they tell us, The Commons (the Faction) made uſe of the following Stratagem to make themſelves feared, *viz.* by declaring ſuch as had been concerned in Monopolies, Innovations, *&c.* Delinquents, a great Number of Perſons, who had been remarkable for their Adherence to the Court, or the Principles of Archbiſhop *Laud*, were kept in Awe by the Commons; who had it in their Power, either to proſecute, or let them alone, according as they behaved. But the Number of thoſe, who were declared Delinquents, was nothing in compariſon to thoſe who had Reaſon to fear the like Declaration. From whence there fol-

A. 1641-2 lowed an unanimous Approbation of whatever was done by the Houſe; ſome conſenting, be-
18 *Car.* I. cauſe they thought the Things juſt, and *others for fear of Chaſtiſement.*

As to Tumults, the Writers of *Rapin*, p. 288, 290, and 291, relate, That in *December* 1641, a great Number of the Inhabitants of *London* petitioned the Commons for removing Colonel *Sandsford*, whom the King had made Lieutenant of the *Tower*; that the Commons thereupon voted *Sandsford* ought to be removed; and that the *London* Apprentices flock'd together in great Numbers, and preſented a Petition to the King, praying him to concur with the Commons: And that thereupon the King found himſelf obliged to remove *Sandsford*. That, on the 27th of the ſame Month, the *London* Apprentices, and an infinite Number of other People, went down to the Parliament-Houſe, and cry'd out, *No Biſhops, No Biſhops*: That Archbiſhop *Williams* and the Earl of *Dover*, offering to ſeize one of the Rioters who oppoſed their Paſſage, were ſurrounded by the Mob, inſulted, and in great Danger of their Lives.

The Houſes influenced by Tumults.

In the Caſe of the Biſhops Votes.

In the 114th Page it is related, That a Petition of Forty thouſand Citizens was preſented to the Houſe for the Execution of the Earl of *Strafford*: That, on the 3d of *May* 1641, a great Multitude went down to *Weſtminſter*, inſulted and threaten'd the Lords as they were going to their Houſe, crying out, *Juſtice, Juſtice.* The ſame Day, that grand Incendiary *Pym* endeavoured to alarm the Houſe, by telling them there were deſperate Deſigns, both at Home and Abroad, againſt the Parliament: That there was an Endeavour to corrupt the Army, and bring them up to over-awe the Parliament

In the Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford.*

The Houſes influenced by Lies and Calumnies invented and propagated by *Pym* and the Faction.

liament: That they held a Correſpondence with *France*, and the *French* were drawing down their Forces to the Sea-ſide, in order to embark for *Portſmouth*, &c. *A.* 1641-2 / 18 *Car.* I.

Page 117, *That the Lords were compelled to do what the Commons deſired; for they had inſpired the Nation with ſuch a Terror, that no one durſt oppoſe their Reſolves, for fear of being expoſed to inevitable Ruin: That the Lords declared they were ſo encompaſs'd by Multitudes of People, that they could not be ſuppoſed to act freely.* And, p. 118, it is confeſs'd, *That this Concourſe of People was privately brought about by ſome leading Men of the Commons.* Fears and Jealouſies promoted by the Faction.

Page 197, That the Preſbyterians had no better way to eſtabliſh their Sect, than by keeping up and cheriſhing the Diſtruſt of thoſe, who had no other Views but the Redreſs of Grievances. All they had to do, was to gain a ſufficient Number of theſe; and nothing was more proper to obtain their Concurrence, than to fill them with Fears and Suſpicions. This was the Reaſon, ſay thoſe Writers, that ſuch Care was taken to aggravate the Conſpiracy, to ſeduce the Army, to dwell continually on the *pretended* Deſign of bringing them to *London*, to ſpread a Report that the *French* Army was going to land and ſeize *Portſmouth* with the King's Conſent, and I know not how many other Rumours, equally impoſſible. Their Lying confeſs'd by the Writers of *Rapin*.

But nothing diſtracted and terrified the People like the *Iriſh* Rebellion and Maſſacre; which the Faction charged the King as the Author of, to render him hated and deteſted by his Subjects. And the Authors of *Rapin* are ſo good to acknowledge, p. 205, That the moſt ſober and conſiderate Part of the Nation did not think it probable, or even poſſible, that

A. 1641 2 18 *Car.* I.

the King ſhould be willing to have his Proteſtant Subjects of *Ireland* maſſacred; tho' at the ſame time they inſinuate, that he promoted the Inſurrection; and that it was very natural for the People to dread the like Maſſacre in *England*. They admit, it was the Intereſt of the leading Men to feign a greater Diſtruſt than they really had, that they might ſtrengthen the Suſpicions and Fears of other Members: That they prepared Matters by degrees; one while by cheriſhing Suſpicions and Fears, another while by engaging the Houſe to take proper Steps to lead them to their End; which was not known to all the Members. (But if a Majority had been for altering the Government, what Occaſion was there for all that Tricking and Roguery to bring the honeſt Members into the Meaſures of the Faction?)

And yet they countenance them in part.

The wicked Arts of the Faction conſe s'd again.

In impoſing on the People.

In obtaining the Remonſtrance or Declaration of War againſt the King.

Speaking of the Remonſtrance which the Authors of *Rapin* themſelves admit was a Signal or Declaration of War againſt the King. They ſay, p. 211, That the zealous (the Faction) were ſpurred on to get this Remonſtrance approved; becauſe *they wanted a Diſſenſion between the King and Parliament, in order to bring both Houſes to conſent to the Diminution of the Regal Power* (from whence there can't be a more natural Inference deduced, than that the Parliament would have agreed with the King, and a Civil War had been prevented, if the Faction, by their Lies, and other wicked Artifices, had not procured that ſmall Majority (Nine) by which the Remonſtrance was carried at Midnight, when many of thoſe who oppoſed it had left the Houſe, and many more been ſilenced or expelled before the Queſtion was put.)

A. 1641-2
18 Car. I.

Page 212, it is said, *I do not undertake to determine, whether the Design of rendering the King incapable of governing for the future as he had done during fifteen Years past, was just in itself, or necessary for the Welfare of the Kingdom.* And yet 'tis said, three Lines afterwards, *I do not see what Security they could have, who were for leaving the King in the same Power he had enjoy'd before.* By which Words he certainly determines, that it was necessary to render the King incapable of governing as he had done; and evidently contradicts himself in the same Page: But nothing is so common with these admired Writers as to say and unsay, and talk inconsistently in the same Breath. However, from the whole, it may be collected, That they agree with the Faction, as to the *Necessity and Justice of abridging the King's Power.*

The Writers of *Rapin* again inconsistent with themselves

But however shew themselves Friends to the Faction.

They admit afterwards, p. 217, That the Design of the Remonstrance was not to inform the King of their Grievances, but purely to make their Apology, and exasperate the People against the King; for they printed it before they receiv'd any Answer from the King, and publish'd it against his Will; so that their affirming, *They were necessitated to make this Remonstrance, and that they did it without the least Intention to lay any blemish on his Royal Person, &c.* WAS ALL A FLOURISH, WITHOUT ONE WORD OF TRUTH. This even the Authors of *Rapin* acknowledge; and it is admitted in the Remonstrance it self, Paragraph 120, *That the Root of all their Grievances was removed*; and Paragraph, 125, 126, *That the two Acts, for Triennial Parliaments, and Continuance of that in being, secur'd all they had done,*

The Villainy of the Faction again confess'd.

Concessions on the Remonstrance itself, which shew the Faction to be notorious Traitors and Rebels.

A. 1641-2 18 *Car.* I.

done, and afforded a perpetual Spring of Remedies for the future. (What neceſſity was there then of taking the Militia away from the King, or making any further Encroachments on his Prerogative?) Paragraph 154, of the Remonſtrance, *They acknowledge with great thankfulneſs, that his Majeſty had paſſed more good Bills to the Advantage of the Subjects, than had been paſſed in many Ages.* Paragraph 181, *They acknowledge a Majority of the Lords oppoſed their Deſigns* (and conſequently would never have conſented to a Rupture with the King) *and this was the reaſon they inſiſted on the Excluſion of the Biſhops, and other Temporal Lords*, they ſtyl'd *Popiſh.*

His Majeſty treated with ill Language.

But notwithſtanding the Remonſtrance acknowledges, the King had done ſo much for them, he is treated, in other Parts of it, with rude contumelious Language; his Declarations are ſaid to be ſcandalous; and in their Petition which accompanied it, he is charged with being the Author of the *Iriſh* Rebellion and Maſſacre, and with deſigning the ſame in *England*; he is charged alſo with Endeavours to corrupt the Parliament, and a Plot to bring up the Army to *London*, and put a Force upon the Parliament.

Charged with Facts he was a Stranger to.

The Faction inſiſt he ſhould transfer the Regal Power to them.

They inſiſt therefore, That they might chuſe his Majeſty's Miniſters, and change them when they pleaſed on bare Suſpicions without Proof; That they might have the Command of the Militia, the Navy, Forts, *&c.* Whereupon even the Writers of *Rapin* remark, That *this Remonſtrance, was properly a long Train of Reproaches for the King's paſs'd Conduct, and againſt his Government.* The Authors whereof *had no other View, but*

to

to incenſe the People againſt him, at a Time when it ſeemed moſt unneceſſary. And therefore the beginning of the Breach, between the King and Parliament, is to be reckoned from the Date of this Remonſtrance. They add, p. 281, That the Commons did not take one ſingle Step from this time, but what tended to their End of filling the People with Fears and Jealouſies: (Among which, the ordering Arms to be brought into their Houſe, and the appointing Guards, and a General of their own, may be conſider'd.)

A. 1641-2
18 *Car.* I.
The Rebellion begun by the Remonſtrance.

I ſhall not give the Reader his Majeſty's Anſwer to the Commons Remonſtrance in this Place; as well becauſe it was not publiſhed till ſome time after, as becauſe it contains an Anſwer to another Declaration of the Commons, ſent him on the 19th of *May* following; but proceed to give a further Account of the Rupture, which ſoon after happen'd between his Majeſty and the Remnant of the two Houſes, after the Loyaliſts were expelled, or under a Force.

I left his Majeſty, returning towards *York* for his Security, purſued from Stage to Stage by the inſolent Demands of the Faction (which they ſtyled humble Petitions) to reſign the regal Power into their Hands, and confer on them a more abſolute Dominion, than ever any King of *England* claim'd. The King arriving at *York* the 19th of *March*, with a Committee of the Houſe of Commons attending him, who were to be Spies upon his Actions; the Faction ſent him a Declaration ſoon after, to juſtify their Proceedings, and to deſire his Return to the Parliament. To which his Majeſty anſwer'd, That he was *driven* from *Whitehall*, but would be content

The King arrives at *York*.

A. 1641-2 tent however, that the Parliament ſhould be adjourn'd from *Weſtminſter* to any other Place, where he might ſafely reſide near them. He did not deſire to be at that diſtance, but they could not expect his Preſence, unleſs they ſecured him againſt his juſt Apprehenſions of tumultuary Inſolencies, and gave him Satisfaction for the falſe and ſcandalous Aſperſions they had thrown upon him. He offer'd about the ſame time to raiſe a Body of Troops, and go in Perſon into *Ireland*, in order to reduce the Rebels there; but the Parliament rejected the Offer, and reſolved to obſtruct all Levies of Forces for that Service, but what was made by themſelves. They had ſome time before order'd Sir *John Hotham*, a Member of their Houſe, to draw together a Body of the Militia, and ſecure the Town of *Hull* for them, where his Majeſty's Magazine of Arms and Ammunition had been lodg'd ever ſince the War with *Scotland*. And Sir *John Hotham* and his Son were accordingly ſent down to *Hull*, and took Poſſeſſion of it, tho' his Majeſty had appointed the Earl of *Newcaſtle* Governor of that Place: The Faction alſo took upon them to collect all ſuch Sums, as had been granted by Parliament for any Service whatever, and to apply them to their own Uſe, and proceeded to ſell the Lands of the Rebels in *Ireland* at very low Rates, to ſuch Perſons as would advance Money for their Service; and being under ſome Apprehenſions, that the King might find means to get Poſſeſſion of *Hull* again, they order'd the beſt part of the Magazine there to be removed to the *Tower* of *London*, which was now in their Power. The King being alarm'd

18 *Car.* I.

The Faction deſire him to put himſelf into their Hands.

Jan. 11. *Hull* ſeiz'd by the Faction.

They ſeize the Publick Money.

alarm'd at theſe rebellious Attempts, thought it high time to put his Deſign in execution of recovering *Hull:* Accordingly, on the 22d of *April* 1642, he ſent the Duke of *York* thither, accompanied by the Elector Palatine his Nephew, and ſome Perſons of Diſtinction, as upon a Journey of Pleaſure, who were received by Sir *John Hotham* with the Reſpect due to their Quality, and remained in *Hull* all Night: The next Morning early, *viz.* the 23d, the King, attended by his Officers and Servants and ſome of the principal Nobility and Gentry of the Country, to the Number of two or three hundred, rode out towards *Hull*; and, being advanced within a Mile of the Place, Sir *Lewis Dives* was diſpatch'd to Sir *John Hotham*, to let him know the King intended to dine with him that Day; but his Majeſty coming before the Place a little afterwards, found the Gates ſhut, the Bridges drawn up, and the Militia poſted on the Walls, as if an Enemy had been expected: And Sir *John* himſelf appearing, acquainted his Majeſty that he durſt not open the Gates, being entruſted with the Town by the Parliament; and perſiſting in his Refuſal, the King cauſed Sir *John* to be proclaimed a Traytor, and retired to *Beverly*, about ſix Miles from thence, the Duke of *York* and the Elector, with the Company that came to *Hull* the Day before, being ſuffered to go out of the Town and attend his Majeſty. Upon this Repulſe, the King ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes, to demand Juſtice againſt Sir *John Hotham*; but they declared, that Sir *John Hotham* had done nothing, but in obedience to their Commands; and that the proclaiming one of their Mem-

A.D. 1642
13 *Car.* I.

Sir *John Hotham* refuſes to admit the King into *Hull.*

Hotham juſtified by the Parliament.

A.D. 1642 bers a Traytor, was a high Breach of their Privileges; and voted, that if Sir *John Hotham* ſhould loſe his Life in defence of the Place, his Son ſhould ſucceed him in the Government: And to ſhew they were determined to mantain their uſurped Dominion by Force of Arms, on the 10th of *May* they drew out the *London* Train'd-Bands, commanded by *Skippon* their Major-General, and formed them into ſix Regiments, conſiſting of about ten thouſand Men, appointing ſuch Colonels, Captains, and ſubaltern Officers, as, according to the Phraſe of thoſe Times, *they could confide in:* At which Muſter the Members of both Houſes appeared, and gave the Soldiers all imaginable Encouragement to perſiſt in their Rebellion, and were afterwards ſplendidly entertained in a Pavilion, at the Charges of the City. The two Houſes alſo ſent their Orders to the adjacent Counties, to put their Ordinance in execution and draw out the Militia, aſſuring them they might depend on their Protection.

18 *Car.* I.

The Faction draw out the Militia againſt the King.

The King hereupon having ſummoned the Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to attend him, complained to them of the Inſolence of the Committee of Parliament, who continued to debauch his Subjects from their Loyalty, and yet refuſed to retire from his Court; adding, that the Parliament had ſeized on his Magazine at *Hull*, being his own proper Goods, and were putting their Ordinance, in relation to the Militia, in execution, in Defiance of his Authority and the Laws of the Land; and had avowed and countenanced Sir *John Hotham*'s Treaſon: After which, he could not but be apprehenſive of real Dangers to his Perſon and Government; and therefore was reſolved

to

to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one a great while upon imaginary Jealousies;) and in this he desired their Concurrence, that he might be able to protect them, together with the Laws and the true Protestant Religion. Whereupon the Noblemen and Gentlemen about the King agreed to form a Troop of Horse out of their own Number, of which the Prince of *Wales* was constituted Captain; and that a Regiment of Train'd-Bands of Six hundred Men should serve as a Foot-Guard to his Majesty; which were all the Forces the King yet thought fit to raise for his Security; and even this occasioned several other rebellious Votes by that Remnant of a Parliament that assumed the Name of the two Houses, with a Declaration, that it was against the Laws and Liberties of the Subject for the King to command any to attend him; and that whoever, upon pretence of his Majesty's Command, should take up Arms, should be deem'd a Disturber of the publick Peace; and that the Magazines of Arms, *&c.* in the several Counties, should be put into the Hands of their Lord-Lieutenants, *in whom the Parliament could confide.* They also voted, that it appeared, the King, being seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make War against his Parliament: That whenever the King made War upon the Parliament, it was a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People; and that whoever should serve and assist him in such Wars, were Traytors to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. They also sent a Petition, or rather Command, to the King to disband his Guard; and on receiving his Majesty's Answer, that he had raised a Guard with no other Design than

A.D. 1642
18 *Car.* I.

The King raises a Guard for his Person.

Rebellious Votes of the Faction thereupon.

They declare his Adherents Traytors, and that the King was but the People's Trustee.

*A.D.*1642 for the Safety of his Perſon, they made an Order, that all Sheriffs ſhould ſuppreſs the raiſing or aſſembling of any Soldiers by Warrant from the King, without Conſent of Parliament; and iſſued their Orders to all Civil Officers to ſtop all Arms and Ammunition carrying towards *York*.

18 *Car.* I.

And here it may be proper to take notice of the King's Anſwer to the many ſeditious Votes, Petitions and Declarations of the two Houſes, as well as to the Remonſtrance preſented him the 1ſt of *December* 1641.

The Subſtance of the King's Anſwer to the Remonſtrance, &c.

As to the Danger of Religion, for which the Faction pretended to be ſo much concern'd, he anſwer'd, He was ready to concur with his Parliament in any juſt Meaſures for the Security of it; and as to the abridging the inordinate Power of the Clergy, which they complained of, he thought that was done ſufficiently by taking away the High-Commiſſion Court: That if any illegal Innovations had crept into the Church, he ſhould readily concur in the Removal of them; but was perſuaded, there was no Church upon Earth that profeſs'd the true Religion with more Purity of Doctrine than the Church of *England*; nor where the Government and Diſcipline were more beautiful and free from Superſtition; which, by the Grace of God, he would conſtantly maintain in their Purity and Glory, not only againſt all Invaſions of Popery, but from the Irreverence of Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts, wherewith the Kingdom of late abounded. As to the Removal of Evil Counſellors, he knew of none to whom the Character ſet forth in their Petition belong'd; but there was no Man ſo near him, whom he would not leave to the Juſtice of the Law, if they brought a particular

lar Charge and Proofs againſt him, of which he had already given a ſufficient Teſtimony; but wiſhed they would forbear ſuch general Expreſſions as might reflect upon his whole Council, when they named none in particular: And that to debar him of the Choice of his Counſellors, Miniſters of State, and Servants, as they propoſed, was to debar him the natural Liberty of all Freemen, and deprive him of his undoubted Rights. *A.D.1642* 18 *Car.* I.

As to the Male-adminiſtration they complained of, in the firſt ſixteen Years of his Reign, he obſerved, that they had with Thankfulneſs acknowledged his paſſing ſuch Laws as had redreſs'd all theſe Grievances; and they muſt confeſs, that they enjoy'd a great Meaſure of Happineſs, even during thoſe ſixteen Years, both in Peace and Plenty; not only comparatively, in reſpect of their Neighbours, but even of thoſe Times which were juſtly accounted fortunate.

That it was with Grief of Heart he obſerved the bold Licence of ſome Men, in printing of Pamphlets, in preaching and printing of Sermons, againſt his Government and the Laws eſtabliſh'd, ſo full of Sedition againſt himſelf and the Peace of the Kingdom, that he was amazed to conſider with what Eyes theſe Things were ſeen, and with what Ears they were heard: This virulent Demeanour could end in nothing but Confuſion, and was an unſpeakable Scandal to Religion.

He ſaid, he very well underſtood the Rights he had parted with, when he conſented to the Bills for a Triennial Parliament, for the Continuance of this, and in the Preamble of the Bill of Tonnage; as well as by the Bills for taking away the Star-Chamber and High-Com-

*A.D.*1642 Commiſſion Courts: This he had conſented to, in order to cultivate a good Correſpondence with his People, and thought he had thereby given that real Satisfaction: That all Jealouſies and Apprehenſions of arbitrary Preſſures had been removed; not doubting, but as he had taken all Occaſions to render his People eaſy and happy, they would in Gratitude have been equally ready to advance his Rights; eſpecially as he was ſtill ready to conſent to every thing they could reaſonably demand to complete their Security.

18 Car. I.

And, as theſe Reſolutions were the Effects of his preſent Councils, no ill Deſigns on the Publick ſurely could be ſuſpected to accompany them; nor could there be any Cauſe of Suſpicion from any Perſons that had been preferred to any Honours or Places of Truſt ſince this Parliament (who were all eminent formerly for adhering to the Party that oppoſed the Court;) and it was not the leaſt of his Misfortunes, that, having not retained in his Service, or protected any one Perſon againſt whom the Parliament had excepted during this long Seſſion; and having not vouchſafed to give any Inſtance of his Grace and Favour, but to ſuch as were eminently in the Eſteem of the People during that Time, there ſhould, on a ſudden, ariſe ſuch Jealouſies of theſe Gentlemens Fidelity; aſſuring them however, that if he ſhould appear to have been miſtaken in his Choice of any Servants, he was ready to ſurrender them to publick Juſtice, and make them ſenſible of his Diſpleaſure.

And thus, having ſaid and done all that was poſſible to manifeſt the Uprightneſs of his Intentions, and his Concern for the Good and Welfare of his People, their Happineſs now wholly

wholly depended upon themſelves; they had nothing to do but to yield Obedience to the Laws, the only Security the Subject could have for his Life, Liberty, or Eſtate; which being neglected or diſeſteemed, under what ſpecious Shews ſoever, a very great Meaſure of Infelicity, if not an irreparable Confuſion, muſt, without doubt, fall upon them. And he doubted not, it would be the moſt acceptable Declaration a King could make to his Subjects; that, for his part, he was reſolved not only duly to obſerve the Laws himſelf, but maintain them againſt all Oppoſition with the hazard of his Life. *A.D.*1642 18 *Car.* I.

He deſired to cultivate a good Underſtanding with his People, eſpecially at this Time, when the lamentable Condition of his poor Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland* called for their Compaſſion; and invited them to unite for the Relief of that unhappy Kingdom, where barbarous Rebels practiſed ſuch inhuman and unheard-of Outrages upon that miſerable People, as no Chriſtian Ear could hear of without Horror. And, as he look'd upon this as the greateſt Affliction it had pleaſed God to lay upon him; ſo his Unhappineſs was encreaſed by the Diſturbances at home, which had prevented the applying ſuch early Remedies to thoſe growing Evils, as the Neceſſity of the Caſe required; tho', for his part, he did, upon the firſt Notice he received of it in *Scotland*, where he then was, require the Aſſiſtance of that Parliament, and the Parliament of *England*, for ſuppreſſing that Rebellion; and, ſince his Return, had laid hold of every Opportunity to haſten the ſending Relief to that Kingdom; and had lately offered both Houſes to raiſe Ten thouſand Men for that Service, and

*A.D.*1642 and command them in Perſon, if the Commons would engage to pay thoſe Troops: And
18 *Car.* I. he now conjur'd all his good Subjects to join with him for the Recovery of the Peace of that Kingdom, and the Preſervation of the Peace of this; to which the diſcarding thoſe groundleſs Jealouſies and Fears they had entertained, would, he conceived, in a great meaſure contribute.

The King charged with three Things principally by the Faction.

From the Remonſtrance of the two Houſes (or that Remnant of them that was left at *Weſtminſter*) there appear to have been three Things that they principally charge his Majeſty with: 1ſt, The Breach of his Word; 2dly, A Plot to bring up the Army to *London*, and to put a Force upon the two Houſes; and, 3dly, His promoting the *Iriſh* Rebellion by the Papiſts there, and endeavouring to incite the Papiſts of *England* to the like Inſurrection here, in order to over-awe the Parliament; which I ſhall conſider in their Order. And,

Some Anſwer to the Charge.

1ſt, The Breach of his Word, that external Source of Diſtruſt (as is pretended) and which, they ſay, *neceſſitated* them to take up Arms againſt their Soveraign. But with what Face could the Faction charge the King with Breach of his Word and Inſincerity, when they themſelves are juſtly diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of Mankind by their Lying and Hypocriſy; and when their Treachery, Ingratitude and Double-dealing were really the Source of all the Calamities of this Reign and the true Origin of the Civil War, as has been already demonſtrated by the Conceſſions of their Friends, the Writers of *Rapin*.

If we look back to the beginning of this Reign; we ſee the Faction, who had artful-

ly

ly engaged the Crown in a War, and promis'd to ſupport it; not only refuſing Supplies to carry it on, but endeavouring to deprive his Majeſty of his daily Bread; arraigning his Adminiſtration before he had been three Months on the Throne, when they could not poſſibly diſcern what kind of a Governor he was like to make; and, upon this Pretence, denying him the uſual Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, which every one of his Anceſtors for ſix or ſeven Generations had enjoyed from their reſpective Acceſſions to the End of their ſeveral Reigns, without a Murmur, or any Objection to their receiving thoſe Duties upon Merchandize: And this he had the greater Reaſon to reſent; inaſmuch as by 1 *Eliz. Cap.* 11. it is declared in the Preamble of that Act, *That the Cuſtom of Wares and Merchandizes imported and exported, was an ancient Revenue annexed to the Crown.* And tho' the King declared himſelf ready to relinquiſh his Right to the Cuſtoms, provided they might be ſettled on him for Life by Act of Parliament, as they had been on his Anceſtors; yet did they refuſe to paſs an Act for that Purpoſe, for more than one Year, propoſing to make him perpetually depend on them for the Meat he eat at his own Table, which muſt have reduced him to the Condition of a Subject, or rather a Slave to the two Houſes.

A.D. 1642
18 *Car.* I.
The Practices of the Faction on the King's Acceſſion.

Thus the King, being deſerted by the Parliament, who had promiſed to ſupport the War, and brought into very great Difficulties, after he had tried two or three Parliaments, was *neceſſitated* to venture the Receipt of the Cuſtoms without their Concur-

*A.D.*1642 rence, and to raiſe Money by the Revival of ſome ancient or obſolete Laws and Statutes, for the Support of his Civil Government and the Defence of the Kingdom; which extraordinary Ways appeared very grievous to the People, who were taught by the Faction, that the King intended to raiſe Money, and govern in an arbitrary Manner. Whereas, in truth, the King would much rather have received Supplies from his Parliament in the ordinary Way; and had ſoon come to a good underſtanding with his Parliament, if the Faction had not perpetually fomented thoſe Diviſions, terrifying the People with unaccountable Jealouſies and Fears; while Ambition, Revenge, private Intereſt, or a Deſign to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed Government in Church and State, and introduce Presbytery and a Common-wealth in the room of them, were the true Motives of their aſperſing the King and Government. And there is no doubt, but by their Lies and ſpecious Pretences, they impoſed upon many honeſt well-meaning Men, and induced them, to concur with them. But to return; what did the King promiſe at laſt? No more than this; That if they would raiſe ſupplies, for the neceſſary Support of the Government, in the ordinary Way, he would never have Recourſe to extraordinary Meaſures: And as the Faction took care he never ſhould receive the uſual Aids, and laid him under a *neceſſity* of finding other Means for the Support of the State, they have very little Occaſion to charge him with Inſincerity or Breach of his Word. They have much more Reaſon to reflect upon their own Hypocriſy and treacherous Arts, who never dealt openly

18 *Car.* I.

The King *neceſſitated* to take extraordinary Way's to raiſe Money.

The Faction prevent a Union between the King and the People.

The K's Promiſes but Conditional.

openly and fairly, either with his Majesty or their Fellow-Subjects, in any one Instance. His greatest Misfortune was, the harbouring those Vipers in his Bosom, that stung him to death. What is more evident, than that those he advanced to the most honourable and profitable Posts, and in whom he placed the greatest Confidence, most notoriously betrayed him; such as *Essex*, *Holland*, *Northumberland*, *Hamilton*, and that Monster of Treachery, Sir *Henry Vane*; who, when the King had come to a Resolution to comply with whatever his Subjects should demand in the last Parliament but one, so misrepresented the King to the House, and the Members of the House to his Majesty, as occasioned that fatal Dissolution that threw all things into Confusion. There is no doubt, but many honest Men were justly alarmed at the extraordinary Measures used in raising Money; but they did not sufficiently consider, how the King had been provoked and put upon it by the Perverseness of the Faction, and that Things were aggravated to a very great Degree: Nor did they duely reflect, that all the Taxes thus raised were a Trifle to what were raised in other Reigns. It is evident also, that none of them were applied to any other Uses, than those for which they were raised, *viz.* the Support of the Civil Government, and the necessary Defence of the Kingdom.

A D. 1642
18 *Car.* I.

Betrayed by those he trusted.

And if there were any illegal Methods taken to raise Money, certain it is, the same had been taken in other Reigns; and every one of these were not only disclaimed in the first nine Months of the long Parliament, but such Acts made for preventing all Excesses

The same Ways of raising Money practised in former Reigns.

A.D. 1642 of the like nature for the future, as the Parliament declared themſelves perfectly ſatisfied with, and, in lieu of the King's relinquiſhing them, ſolemnly promiſed to eſtabliſh and encreaſe his Majeſty's Revenue, and make it equal, if not ſuperior, to any of his Predeceſſors, and to make him the moſt glorious Monarch that ever reign'd; and yet it is evident, they took not one ſingle Step towards either of theſe Ends: On the contrary, they ſeized the ſmall Revenue he had left, together with his Forts, Arms, Ammunition and Stores; uſurped the Command of the Militia and the Navy, leaving him nothing either for his Defence or Subſiſtance; and yet theſe Men have the Fore-head to complain, the King did not keep his word with them; they ſeem to claim a Privilege of deceiving him, as well as their Fellow-Subjects, by Lies and Calumnies without Number, while they exclaim againſt the moſt innocent Precautions taken by others purely for their Preſervation.

18 *Car.* I. All of them diſclaimed in this Reign, and Acts paſs'd to prevent the like. The Parliament notoriouſly break their Promiſes with the King.

The Plot to put a Force upon the Parliament a Sham.

The Second Article I am to ſpeak to, is a pretended Plot of the Royaliſts to bring up the Army to *London*, ſubdue the two Houſes, and eſtabliſh an arbitrary Dominion, which the Lord *Clarendon* has ſufficiently refuted, and ſhewn the little Foundation there was for any ſuch Suggeſtion; and indeed the Letter, or that Petition of the Officers of the Army itſelf, ſufficiently ſhews, that there was no other Intention than to addreſs the King and Parliament, that they would not conſent to any Alterations in the Government, which it appeared the Faction were aiming at: The following Copy of this Petition is taken from the Lord *Clarendon*.

"To

A.D. 1642

18 Car. I.

The Petition of the Army to the King and Parliament.

" *To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, the* " *Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Knights,* " *Citizens, and Burgeſſes now aſſembled in* " *the High-Court of Parliament.*

" The humble Petition of the Officers and " Soldiers of the Army, humbly ſheweth, " That although our Wants have been very " preſſing, and the Burthen we are become " unto theſe Parts (by reaſon of thoſe Wants) " very grievous unto us; yet ſo have we de- " meaned ourſelves, that your Majeſty's great " and weighty Affairs in this preſent Parlia- " ment have hitherto received no Interrup- " tion by any Complaint, either from us or " againſt us; a Temper not uſual in Armies; " eſpecially in one deſtitute, not only of Pay, " but alſo of Martial Diſcipline, and many " of its principal Officers: That they cannot " but attribute it to a particular Bleſſing of " Almighty God on their moſt hearty Af- " fections and Zeal to the common Good in " the happy Succeſs of this Parliament; " to which, as we ſhould have been ready " hourly to contribute our deareſt Blood, ſo " now that it hath pleaſed God to manifeſt " his Bleſſing ſo evidently therein, we can- " not but acknowledge it with Thankfulneſs; " as likewiſe his great Mercy, in that he " hath inclined your Majeſty's Royal Heart " ſo to co-operate with the Wiſdom of the " Parliament, as to effect ſo great and hap- " py a Reformation upon the former Diſtem- " per of this Church and Common-wealth; " as firſt, In your Majeſty's gracious conde- " ſcending to the many important Demands " of our Neighbours the *Scotiſh* Nation; ſecondly,

*A.D.*1642 " ſecondly, In granting ſo free a Courſe of Ju-
" ſtice againſt all Delinquents of what Quality
18 *Car.* I. " ſoever; thirdly, In the Removal of all
" thoſe Grievances, whereby the Subjects did
" conceive either their Liberty of Perſons,
" Property or Eſtate, or Freedom of Con-
" ſcience, prejudiced; and laſtly, In the grea-
" teſt Pledge of Security that ever the Sub-
" jects of *England* received from their Sove-
" raign, the Bill of Triennial Parliament.

" Theſe Things, ſo graciouſly accorded un-
" to by your Majeſty, without Bargain or
" Compenſation; as they are more than Ex-
" pectation or Hope could extend unto; ſo
" now certainly they are ſuch as all loyal
" Hearts ought to acquieſce in with Thank-
" fulneſs; which we do with all Humility;
" and do at this Time, with as much Earneſt-
" neſs as any, pray and wiſh that the King-
" dom may be ſettled in Peace and Quietneſs;
" and that all Men may, at their own Homes,
" enjoy the bleſſed Fruits of your Wiſdom
" and Juſtice.

" But it may pleaſe your excellent Majeſty,
" and this High Court of Parliament, to give
" us Leave, with Grief and Anguiſh of Heart,
" to repreſent unto you, that we hear that
" there are certain Perſons ſtirring and prag-
" matical, who, inſtead of rendering Glory to
" God, Thanks to your Majeſty, and Ac-
" knowledgment to the Parliament, remain
" yet as unſatisfied and mutinous as ever;
" who, whilſt all the reſt of the Kingdom are
" arrived even beyond their Wiſhes, are daily
" forging new and unreaſonable Demands;
" who, whilſt all Men of Reaſon, Loyalty
" and Moderation, are thinking how they
" may provide for your Majeſty's Honour

" and

" and Plenty, in return of so many Graces to " the Subject, are still attempting new Diminutions of your Majesty's just Regalities, " which must ever be no less dear to all honest Men, than our own Freedoms. In " fine, Men of such turbulent Spirits, as are " ready to sacrifice the Honour and Welfare " of the whole Kingdom to their private Fancies, whom nothing else than a Subversion " of the whole Frame of Government will " satisfy: Far be it from our Thoughts to believe that the Violence and Unreasonableness of such kind of Persons can have any " Influence upon the Prudence and Justice of " the Parliament. But that, which begets the " Trouble and Disquiet of our loyal Hearts " at this present, is, That we hear those ill-affected Persons are backed in their Violence by the Multitude and the Power of " raising Tumults; that Thousands flock at " their Call, and beset the Parliament, and " *Whitehall* itself, not only to the Prejudice " of the Freedom, which is necessary to great " Councils and Judicatories, but possibly to " some personal Danger of your sacred Majesty and the Peers.

A.D. 1642 — 18 Car. I.

" The vast Consequence of these Persons " Malignity, and of the Licentiousness of " those Multitudes that follow them, considered, in most deep Care and zealous Affection for the Safety of your sacred Majesty and the Parliament; our humble Petition is, That, in your Wisdom, you would " be pleased to remove such Dangers, by punishing the Ring-leaders of these Tumults, " that your Majesty and the Parliament may " be secured from such Insolencies hereafter; " for the suppressing of which, in all Humi-

" lity,

*A.D.*1642 " lity, we offer ourſelves to wait upon you (if
" you pleaſe) hoping we ſhall appear as con-
18 *Car.* I. " ſiderable, in the way of Defence, to our
" gracious Soveraign, the Parliament, our Re-
" ligion, and the Eſtabliſh'd Laws of the
" Kingdom, as what Number ſoever ſhall
" audaciouſly preſume to violate them : So
" ſhall we, by the Wiſdom of your Majeſty
" and the Parliament, not only be vindicated
" from precedent Innovations, but be ſecured
" from the future that are threaten'd, and
" likely to produce more dangerous Effects
" than the former."

His Majeſty approves the Petition.

His Majeſty, having read this Petition, and conceiving that the Authority of the Army might ſeem of as great Importance for the good Reception of ſo much Reaſon and Juſtice, as the Subſcription of a Rabble had been alledged often to be for the Countenance of what, in truth, was mutinous and ſeditious; ſaid, That he approved well enough of it, and was content that it might be ſubſcribed by the Officers of the Army, if they deſired it. The Officer, who preſented the Draught to his Majeſty, told him, That very few of the Army had yet ſeen it; and that it would be a great Countenance to it, if, when it was carried to the principal Officers, who were firſt to ſign it, any Evidence might be given to them that it had paſs'd his Majeſty's Approbation; otherwiſe they might poſſibly make Scruple, for fear of offending him: Thereupon, his Majeſty took a Pen, and writ at the Bottom of the Petition *C. R.* as a Token that he had peruſed and allowed it; and ſo the Petition was carried down into the Country where the Army lay, and

and was ſigned by ſome Officers, but was ſuddenly quaſh'd. *A.D.*1642

18 *Car.* I.

But, notwithſtanding the Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us, that this was the very Petition intended to be preſented to the King and Parliament; yet *Rapin* has the Aſſurance to affirm it was not, without any other Proof than his own Surmiſes on the reading of it: But, I preſume, the principal Reaſon he would not have it credited, is, becauſe it is itſelf a ſufficient Confutation of their pretended Plot; and on the ſame account, no doubt, *Ruſhworth*, their Clerk-Aſſiſtant, thought fit to ſuppreſs it; which is a farther Argument of his Partiality.

Ruſhworth ſuppreſſes this Petition.

But to examine a little the Reaſon *Rapin* pretends the Petition was not genuine; 1ſt, He ſays, that the Petition mentions the Tumults at *Weſtminſter*, which did not happen till the 3d and 4th of *May*, which was after the Time that Petition was framed: But this Suggeſtion of *Rapin* appears to be an Error, to ſay no worſe of it; for we find Alderman *Pennington*, at the Head of a numerous Rabble, at the Doors of the Parliament-Houſe, petitioning againſt Epiſcopacy, both in the Months of *November* and *December* the preceding Year; and another Rabble demanding the Removal of *Sandsford*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

Rapin's Objections to the Genuineneſs of the Petition anſwer'd.

As to his other Objection; That the King, on mentioning the Petition afterwards, ſaid, *That there was nothing more required in it than the ſettling the Government upon the ſame Foot it was in Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign*; *and that Queen* Elizabeth's *Name is not mentioned in the Petition given us by Lord* Clarendon; this ſeems very trifling: For tho' the Name of *Elizabeth* is not in the Petition; yet as the Army

*A.D.*1642 declare their Readineſs to act in Defence of
18 *Car.* I. the Religion and Laws of the Kingdom, they do not, in effect, ſay, they will defend the Government that was eſtabliſh'd in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time, *which was the ſame:* And the like Anſwer may be given to the Biſhops Votes not being mentioned in the Petition; becauſe, in their ſaying they would defend the Religion eſtabliſh'd, the Biſhops Rights are included: And here I cannot avoid taking notice again of the Baſeneſs and Ingratitude of the Writers of *Rapin*, who are extremely obliged both to *Cambden* and *Clarendon* for great Part of their Hiſtory, and yet don't ſcruple to diſpute the Genuineneſs of the Inſtruments they produce; and even charge thoſe eminent Writers with Forgery. But it is no mean Argument with me to believe this Petition in the Lord *Clarendon* to be genuine, that the Faction have never yet been able to produce another, and that it is their Intereſt to ſuppreſs or deſtroy the Credit of this.

Unfair dealing of *Rapin*.

The Authors of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre.

I come, in the next place, to conſider who were the Authors of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre, and what it was that gave Riſe to that Rebellion; but having treated of this Matter already, it will be unneceſſary to ſay much of it here; eſpecially as there is not at this Day an unprejudiced Man in the Kingdom who ſuſpects the King to have had any Hand in it; and, as it appears, that the very Men, who charged him with encouraging that Inſurrection, did not believe one Word of it themſelves, and only threw it upon the King to render his Majeſty odious, and to induce the People to bear a part in that unnatural Rebellion they were then projecting in *England*. And indeed it is amazing, that ever it could enter into the Heart

Impoſſible the King could promote it.

Heart of any Man, that a Proteſtant Prince, zealous for his Religion, ſhould encourage *Iriſh* Papiſts to fall upon his Proteſtant Subjects, and even upon his own Garriſons and Officers, Civil and Military, and deſtroy them: For, as to that pitiful Diſtinction *Rapin* makes, *that the King promoted the Iriſh Rebellion, not the Maſſacre*; what could the King, or any rational Man, expect would be the Fate of the Proteſtants of that Kingdom, if the *Iriſh* Papiſts ſubdued them? Could it be expected, that thoſe Men, who looked upon the Proteſtants as Enemies to their Religion, Liberties and Properties, would have dealt more mildly with them than they did, and not have endeavoured to extirpate a People they imagined had ſo groſly abuſed them? *A.D.* 1642 / 18 *Car.* I.

Again; had the King encouraged the *Iriſh* Inſurrection, in order to favour his Projects in *England*; would he not rather have united his Forces in that Kingdom with them? or, at leaſt, have given ſome Intimation to his own Forts and Garriſons there to be upon their Guard; and not have ſuffer'd them to be involved in the common Ruin; eſpecially the Capital City of *Dublin*, the Magiſtrates and Officers whereof had not the leaſt Intimation of the Inſurrection till the Night before; and, by a very great Providence, eſcaped the Fury of the Rebels? Whereas, had the Court of *England* been at the bottom of that Inſurrection, it cannot be ſuppoſed, but that they would have had ſo much Compaſſion for ſome of their Friends, for ſome of the great Officers or Magiſtrates there, who acted by the King's Authority, as to have given them notice of the intended Tragedy.

*A D.*1642
18 *Car.* I.

The Villany of the Faction in charging the *Iriſh* Maſſacre on the King.

On the other hand, what have thoſe hypocritical Wretches to anſwer for, who raiſed this deteſted Calumny on their Prince, on purpoſe to throw the three Kingdoms into Confuſion, and eſtabliſh themſelves on the Ruin of their Fellow-Subjects; who by ſuch Lies and Calumnies ſpirited up a Rebellion that involved their native Country in Blood and Ruin, and whoſe Poſterity have to this Day been able to make no other Defence for their unparallel'd Villany of their Fore-fathers, than by propagating the Slander, and endeavouring to blaſt and murder the Reputation of a Prince, their Anceſtors ſacrificed to their Ambition and Revenge? A Prince, who had parted with almoſt all his Prerogatives, and by their own Confeſſion paſſed more Acts for the Security of their Liberties and Properties than any, nay, than all the Kings that had reigned before him. Again, Can it be ſuppoſed, that his Majeſty ſhould, from Time to Time, not only preſs the Commons to ſend Relief to his Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, but leave it to them to raiſe Forces and manage that War, if he had given Encouragement to the Rebels; eſpecially, when he had Reaſon to ſuſpect the Faction would employ thoſe very Supplies that were raiſed for *Ireland* againſt himſelf, as they actually did? But even this he was content to hazard, rather than delay ſending Succours to the Proteſtants, which amounts to a Demonſtration, that the Rebels were far from being countenanced by the King and Court. Even Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, in his *Royal Martyr*, that the King comply'd with the moſt unreaſonable Deſires of the Faction; and, that when he ſaw them about to engage the Nation in a Civil War, left no

Biſhop *Burnet* juſtifies the King's Conduct.

Means

Means uneſſayed to ſatisfy all their Jealouſies and Fears: How careful he was to prevent a Rupture (ſays the ſame Biſhop) not only his great Conceſſions prove, but his conſtant Offers of Treaty, even when Things went proſperouſly with him, demonſtrate. What full Indemnity and Oblivion did he offer his Enemies; even though they would not allow any Indemnity to his Friends? And how much was he againſt all cruel and ſevere Practices? His Fidelity in obſerving Treaties, ſhews how religiouſly he reſolved to keep them; and his refuſing to ſerve his Intereſt by Promiſes, which how uſeful ſoever they might have been to him, yet ſince he could not with a good Conſcience obſerve them, he would not make them, ſhews how ſacred he accounted all his Promiſes: And adds, What Reaſon have thoſe, who engaged in Arms againſt our *Royal Martyr*, to charge and judge themſelves, that they be not judged of the Lord; who, not being contented with thoſe great and large Conceſſions he freely and voluntarily offered, did purſue his Perſon and Life in the Field? After which, it was no Wonder others learnt to purſue him to the Scaffold. May not the one be ſaid to have killed the King, that robbed him of his Revenue, Power, and Authority, and every thing that was neceſſary for the Maintenance of the Royal Dignity? Whereas, the other did but murder *Charles*, after he was ſpoiled of his Royal Power, and the Government taken out of his Hands. See *Burnet*'s *Royal Martyr*, from p. 7, to p. 25.

A.D. 1642
18 *Car.* I.

The ſame Right Reverend Author in his four Conferences, p. 241, ſays, I ſhall not engage further in the Differences betwixt the King and the two Houſes, than to ſhew, *that his*

*A.D.*1642 *his Majesty had the Law clearly on his Side,* since he not only consented to the Redress of all Grievances, for which the least Colour of Law was alledged; but had also yielded to larger Concessions to secure the Fears of the Subject, than had been granted by all the Kings of *England* since the Conquest; yet their Demands were unsatisfiable, without his Majesty had consented for the abolishing Episcopacy, and the Discharge of Liturgy; which neither his Conscience, nor the Laws of *England*, allowed of: So that the present War cannot be said to have gone on the Principles of defending Religion, since his Majesty was invading no Part of the established Religion. And in *Scotland* his Majesty had settled all Matters to their Heart's Desire, and by many frequent and solemn Protestations, declared his Resolutions of observing inviolably that Agreement.

18 *Car.* I

In his Preface to the Memoirs of Duke *Hamilton*, p. 3, he says, 'Twas a strange and unheard-of Thing, to see a Prince, who had great Virtues and eminent Piety, and was of the same Religion with his Subjects, and had never put any of them unjustly to death, so oppressed by a prevalent Faction.

Thus far Bishop *Burnet*, *that illustrious Writer*, as the Compilers of *Rapin* style him, and on whose Credit they seem generally to rely.

Upon the whole, I believe it is by this Time sufficiently manifest, that the Faction aimed at something more than the securing their Liberties and Properties; that they engaged in the Rebellion with a View of establishing Presbytery, and making their Sovereign at least their Slave (as the Authors of *Rapin*

Rapin are sometimes so good to grant) that they contended for nothing less than Empire, and broke through all Laws human and divine, as well as the Laws of the Land, to obtain their Ends. *A.D.*1642 18 *Car.* I.

I had almost forgot another Calumny advanced by the Writers of *Rapin*, in which they exceed any Republican Authors, that have gone before them, *viz. That King Charles carried the Prerogative higher, and acted more despotically, than any of his Predecessors.* To which it may be answer'd, that this is certainly very false in relation to the Kings of *England* for several Successions after the Conquest: And, in regard to the Reigns that immediately preceded, this Assertion is far from Truth; a very little Acquaintance with the *English* History shews, that the *Conqueror* and his immediate Successors had scarce any Regard to Laws; that there is not one of those extraordinary Ways of raising Money, which King *Charles* made Use of, which had not been practised by most of his Predecessors, except Ship-Money; and for the Legality of this, he had the Opinion of the whole Bench of Judges, who were till then acknowledged the proper Interpreters of our Laws. If we look back upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, we shall find, that she kept the Commons at a greater Distance, than ever this Prince did: That she would not suffer any of them, to enter on Debates, relating either to Religion or the Succession, without her Permission; and when they did, she imprisoned the Members that disobeyed her Orders: That when Sir *Edward Coke*, the Speaker, was directed by the House, to read a Bill in relation to one of these Articles, he

Answer to the Charge of the K's being more Arbitrary than any of his Ancestors.

A.D. 1642 — 18 *Car.* I.

he answer'd, he durst not, the Queen had commanded the contrary, and accordingly refused to read it: That Queen *Elizabeth* granted above forty Patents for Monopolies, which were all in Force at one Time; and that some of them, were of thirty Years Continuance: That she raised Money by Loans, Privy-Seals, and other extraordinary Ways; pressed Soldiers, and obliged the Country to levy more, and to pay and cloath them without the Concurrence of the Parliament; and this without the least Censure from the People, tho' the same thing done by K. *Charles* was termed an assuming arbitrary Power, and looked upon as a Forfeiture of his Soveraignty. And, if we take a View of the Reign of *Henry* VIII, who reigned not long before King *Charles*, we shall find the Parliament compelled to alter and repeal the Laws as often as he directed them; to enact new Creeds and Tests of Religion almost every Day, according to the King's Humour: That the Profession and Belief of these Articles were enjoined, on Pain of burning; and accordingly many of his Subjects were actually burnt, for not believing as the King believed. Nay, we find he obliged the Parliament to pass an Act, declaring, that the King's Proclamation should be of the same Authority as an Act of Parliament; whereby he usurped the whole Legislative Power, and the two Houses were excluded from any Share in it; and yet the Compilers of *Rapin*, have the Assurance to affirm, that King *Charles* carried the Prerogative higher, and asked more arbitrarily than *Henry* VIII, or any Prince that ever reigned before him. To say, that *Henry* VIII had the Concurrence of his Parliament in all this

Instances of a more arbitrary Government, both in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and *Henry* VIII.

this (as the Writers of *Rapin* pretend) and therefore was not guilty of Tyranny, is very ridiculous; for every one knows that ſeeming Conſent of the Parliament in that Reign was a forced Conſent, not a Member in either Houſe that durſt contradict him. We may as well ſay, That the King of *France* does not act arbitrarily, becauſe he compells the Parliament of *Paris* to paſs and enroll all his Edicts and Decrees; as that *Henry* VIII did not. But farther, if we may take *Rapin*'s Word for it, Queen *Elizabeth* acted ſtill more arbitrarily in Religious Matters, than her Father *Henry* VIII; and if ſo, with what Colour of Truth could thoſe Writers affirm, That King *Charles* acted more deſpotically than any of his Predeceſſors: Beſides, if his Neceſſities ſometimes put him upon extending his Prerogative beyond the Limits the Laws preſcrib'd, the ſame may be ſaid in ſome Inſtances of every King of *England*; and it may be further argued in this Prince's Favour, That he never did any Thing of this kind, without aſking the Opinions of the Judges: And laſtly, That he paſs'd ſuch Acts, as rendered the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects more ſecure than ever they had been ſince the Conqueſt; after which, the Faction muſt remain for ever inexcuſable, in ſpiriting up the People into a Rebellion by thoſe vile and deteſted Practices already mentioned.

*A.D.*1642
18 *Car.* I.

King *Charles* always acted according to the Opinions of the Judges; And paſſed Acts for ſecuring Liberty and Property.

As to their Votes, That the King made War upon the Parliament, when he raiſed a Guard for his own Defence, and that whoever aſſiſted him in ſuch a War, were Traitors by a Statute of 2 *Rich.* II, and another of 1 *Hen.* IV. For my part, I can't find there were any ſuch Statutes in being then,

The Faction miſrecite the Statutes in their Favour.

*A.D.*1642 or at any other Time before or ſince; nor is it imaginable, what could give them the leaſt Colour for this Aſſertion, unleſs the Statute of 2 *Rich.* II. *Cap.* 5. which inflicts a Penalty on thoſe who raiſe ſlanderous Reports of the great Men of the Kingdom: But this is far enough from amounting to High-Treaſon.

18 *Car.* I.

The King had a Majority of the Parliament of his Side, and the Faction fought againſt both.

There ſeems to be no manner of occaſion here to contend about the Limits of the King's Prerogatives, or the Power of the two Houſes of Parliament; for, inſtead of the King's being at War with the two Houſes, it is evident the Faction made War both upon the King and a Majority of the two Houſes: Even in the Houſe of Commons, thoſe who were peaceably inclined were a Majority, till they were expelled, or driven away, or over-awed by Tumults: And, as to the Houſe of Lords, we find no leſs than forty of them at *York* with the King, which added to the Twenty-ſix Biſhops, who were excluded by the Tumults and Threats of the Rabble, made near two thirds of that Houſe: Nay, the Lord *Clarendon* relates, that in the Debates of the higheſt Conſequence, there was not uſually preſent in the Houſe of Commons that ſat at *Weſtminſter*, the fifth Part of their juſt Numbers, and very often not above twelve or thirteen in the Houſe of Peers: With what Propriety therefore can it be ſaid, that the King made War upon the two Houſes of Parliament, when it was only a factious and rebellious Minority who aſſumed that Name, put a Force upon the Majority in both Houſes, who actually ſuppreſſed the Houſe of Peers, and ſo modell'd the other Houſe, that it could in no ſenſe be called a true Repreſen-

prefentative of the Commons. Upon the whole, it may with more Juſtice be affirmed, that the Faction rebelled againſt the whole Legiſlature, than that his Majeſty made War upon the Parliament. But to proceed: A.D. 1642 / 18 Car. I.

Some Gentlemen having propoſed to his Majeſty a Project to make him Maſter of *Hull*, the Faction had the Impudence to ſend down a Serjeant at Arms to *York*, to apprehend them as Delinquents; but the Royaliſts were ſo ſenſible of the Affront, that the Officer had paid dear for his Preſumption in coming on that Errand, if his Majeſty had not interpoſed, and laid his Commands on the Gentlemen concerned, to ſuffer him to return to his Maſters; who thereupon only reproached his Majeſty with protecting Delinquents againſt the Juſtice of Parliament, and encroaching on their Privileges. The King alſo commanding *Eaſter* Term to be adjourned to *York*, they declared ſuch Adjournment illegal, and would not ſuffer the Lord-Keeper *Littleton* to iſſue Writs, or ſeal a Proclamation, for that purpoſe: Whereupon the Lord-Keeper, having ſent away the Great Seal before, left the Faction to themſelves, and retired with a great many Members of both Houſes to the King at *York* the latter End of *May*. This put the Faction into ſo great a Conſternation, that the Earl of *Northumberland* moved, a Committee might be appointed to conſider of an Accommodation with the King, and a Committee was appointed accordingly: But the Leaders of the Commons, being conſcious they had already gone ſuch Lengths, that if the People ever recovered their Senſes, they muſt expect to be ſacrificed to their juſt Reſentments, would never hearken

The Lord Keeper carries the great Seal to the King.

A.D. 1642 to an Accommodation; but endeavoured to bring Matters to a ſpeedy Rupture, by giving his Majeſty ſtill freſh Provocations; and thereupon publiſh'd another Remonſtrance, declaring, That the ſupreme Power was lodged in them; and that whatever they declared to be Law, ought not to be diſputed by the King, or any of his Subjects; That they had Authority to diſpoſe of the People's and his Majeſty's Rights; That the Soveraign Power reſided in the two Houſes, and the King had not ſo much as a negative Voice; That the levying War againſt the King's Perſon was not levying War againſt the King, or Treaſon by Law; for he was but their Officer, entruſted with the Adminiſtration by them, and they were Judges, whether he had juſtly diſcharged that Truſt. What do theſe Principles fall ſhort of the Regicides, who afterwards actually murdered the King? If they could judge and condemn their Prince, they muſt alſo have a Power of executing him: And the King had Reaſon to ſuſpect nothing leſs, after ſo plain a Declaration of their Intentions.

18 *Car.* I.

The Faction declare, that the ſupreme Power was lodged in them.

They juſtify levying War againſt the King's Perſon.

They offer 19 Propoſitions, requiring the King to reſign his Authority to them.

The Faction proceeded on the 2d of *June* to offer his Majeſty Nineteen Propoſitions, which were in effect a Demand, that he would tamely ſurrender the Regal Power into their Hands, and deliver up his Friends to their Mercy; and in that caſe, they would ſuffer him to enjoy the Title of King; which were received by his Majeſty with the Contempt ſuch Inſolence deſerved.

The Rebels afterwards declared, That ſuch Noblemen and Gentlemen, as had left the Parliament and attended the King, were Enemies to their Country; and that their Seats

Seats in Parliament were void. Their next Care was to form an Army of Horſe, beſides the Militia and *London* Apprentices they had already muſtered, and to raiſe a Fund of Money to pay them; and in order thereto, they iſſued a Kind of Manifeſto, wherein they declared, That whoever would bring in Money or Plate, or ſubſcribe to raiſe and pay any Number of Horſe, Horſemen and Arms, *for the Defence of the King and Parliament*, they ſhould be repaid with Intereſt at Eight *per Cent.* for which they engaged the publick Faith, *Guildhall* being the Place appointed for the Receipt of ſuch Treaſure: And ſo much were the People impoſed on by their plauſible Pretences, and the Sermons of the Puritans, who exerted themſelves on this occaſion, making it *the Cauſe of God*, and inſinuating that their Zeal would infallibly purchaſe them Seats in Paradiſe; that 'tis ſaid, there was brought in, within the Space of Ten Days, ſeveral Millions Sterling; the City of *London*, with the Counties of *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, and *Hertfordſhire*, contributed the greateſt Part of their Plate; and the Women parted with their Rings and Jewels, and even with their Thimbles and Bodkins, to maintain *the good old Cauſe*. Thus the Rebels were on a ſudden poſſeſs'd of a vaſt Treaſure, a numerous Army, a Fleet of Men of War, Forts and Garriſons; while his Majeſty was deſtitute of almoſt every thing for his Defence, or even Subſiſtance.

*A.D.*1642
18 *Car.* I.

They raiſe an Army beſides the Militia.

And Money.

The Zeal of the Faction.

In Imitation therefore of his Enemies, His Majeſty now propoſed a Subſcription of Money, Plate, *&c.* for which he pledged the Crown-Lands as a Security; and ſome Money was thereupon ſubſcribed by the Nobility and

The King takes meaſures for his Defence.

A.D. 1642 — 18 *Car.* I.

and Gentry, but far ſhort of what had been collected by the Friends of the Faction at *London*. An Engagement alſo was enter'd into, and ſigned by upwards of forty Lords at *York*, Not to ſubmit to the Orders of the two Houſes, but to defend his Majeſty againſt all his Enemies; and at the ſame time the King iſſued a Commiſſion of Array, commanding all his Subjects, to arm in his Defence, as was uſual in Caſes of Invaſion and Rebellion; which the Faction miſrepreſenting as another Act of Tyranny, the King publiſhed a Proclamation, ſetting forth the Lawfulneſs and Uſe of ſuch Commiſſions of Array, and forbad his Subjects to pay any Obedience to the Ordinance of Parliament concerning the Militia. And now the Ship *Providence* being arrived in the Mouth of *Humber* with ſome Arms and Ammunition, which the Queen had purchaſed in *Holland* with her Jewels, the King began to form an Army, of which he made the Earl of *Lindſey* General. The Faction had already raiſed the Militia in and about *London*, and appointed their Major General *Skipper* to Command them; they had alſo order'd the Militia of other Counties to be drawn out, and exerciſed by ſuch Officers, as they could truſt in Counties more remote; and had offer'd great Encouragements to ſuch, as ſhould furniſh any Number of Horſe for their Service. But not thinking this ſufficient, they voted the raiſing a more numerous Army the 12th of *July*, *for the Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon*, and Defence of the Parliament, as they hypocritically pretended; tho' it was to be employed in the Deſtruction of both, and made the Earl of *Eſſex* Generaliſſimo of

More Forces raiſed by the Faction.

The E. of *Eſſex* then General.

of all their Forces, declaring *they would live and die with him.* A.D. 1642 / 18 Car. I.

In the mean time, the King made an Attempt to recover the Poſſeſſion of the Royal Navy. To which end, he privately revoked the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Commiſſion of Admiral, and made Sir *John Pennington* Admiral in his room; but Sir *John* being by ſome Accident prevented going on board the Fleet ſo ſoon as was intended, the Earl of *Warwick* the Vice-Admiral, who was entirely devoted to the Faction, had notice of the Deſign; and ſummoning the Captains of the Men of War to come on Board the Admiral, all of them obeyed him, except Captain *Slingsby*, and Captain *Wake*, who were ſeized by their own Men, and carried to the Earl of *Warwick*, who ſent them Priſoners to his Maſters at *London.* After which, the Earl produced an Ordinance from the two Houſes, conſtituting him Admiral of the Fleet, to which all the reſt of the Captains and Officers ſubmitted, except Sir *John Mennes*, and Captain *Burly*, who refuſing to ſerve under the two Houſes againſt the King, were diſcharged and ſent on Shore: And thus his Majeſty unhappily loſt every Ship in the Royal Navy. The Lord *Clarendon* was of Opinion, that if this Deſign had been put in Execution with that Secrecy and Expedition the thing required, and Sir *John Pennington* had appeared on board the Fleet at the time he was expected, while the Earl of *Warwick* was abſent, the King might have ſecured a great many Ships; but there ſeems to have been ſo general a Diſpoſition in the Common Sea-men for the Rebels, that it is much to be queſtioned, whether

His Majeſty attempts in vain, to recover the Navy.

*A.D.*1642 ther his Majesty would have succeeded, if the Captains had declared for him, and no Accident had happened in the Execution of the Project.

18 *Car.* I.

He fails in a Project to surprize *Hull.*

The King was no less unsuccessful in a Design to surprize *Hull:* The Lord *Digby*, who had been taken Prisoner, by one of the Rebels Ships as he was going to *Holland*, and carried into *Hull*, had prevailed with the Governor Old *Hotham* to abandon the Faction, and deliver up the Place upon the King's appearing before it; with which the Lord *Digby* acquainting his Majesty, some Regiments of Militia, commanded by the Earl of *Lindsey*, were order'd to appear before the Place, expecting the Gates would have been open'd to them: But Old *Hotham*, observing his Son and the Officers of the Garrison more devoted to the Faction than he expected, found it was out of his Power to be as good as his Word; and when the Earl of *Lindsey* came before the Town, *Hotham* could not prevent the Garrison's firing upon them. Whereupon the Earl, not being prepared to besiege the Place in Form, retired to *Beverly*, where his Majesty lay expecting the Success of the Enterprize, and it was not thought expedient to make any further Attempts upon *Hull* at that time.

The Faction seize the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage.

The Parliament, or rather that rebellious Remnant of it, that sat at *Westminster*, were all this while levying and mustering their Forces, and making themselves Masters of the King's Revenues; and tho' they would not suffer his Majesty to receive the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, and had passed an Act, that whoever received them, without the Authority of an Act of Parliament, should

ſhould incur a *Præmunire*; yet theſe Aſſertors of Liberty and the Laws immediately broke through their own Act, and by an Ordinance took Poſſeſſion of all the Duties upon Merchandize, indemnifying the Collectors from Proſecution on the Act ſo lately made at their own Inſtance. *A.D.* 1642 — 18 *Car.* I.

They alſo impriſoned Sir *Richard Gurney*, the Loyal Lord Mayor, with Judge *Mallet*, and ſeveral more of the King's Friends at *London*; and cauſed that Incendiary Alderman *Pennington* to be advanced to the Mayoralty in a tumultuous manner, without regard to the Uſages and Cuſtoms of the City (ſo zealous were they in defending the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.) And it is obſerved, they ſtrengthen'd their Army with thoſe very Forces that were raiſed for the Service of *Ireland*, and took an Hundred thouſand Pounds of the Money appropriated for the ſuppreſſing that Rebellion, to raiſe another in *England*. They imprison the King's Friends. Make uſe of the Forces and Money raiſed for *Ireland*.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, I have already obſerved, was their Generaliſſimo; the Earl of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Holland* were Competitors for General of the Horſe, but the Earl of *Bedford* carried it; the Lord *Kimbolton* was their Lieutenant-General; Sir *John Merrick* Major-General; the Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Grey* of *Greoby*, *Denzil Hollis*, young *Fienner Hampden*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Sir *Henry Cholmby*, and *Grantham*, all Members of Parliament, were Colonels of Regiments; and as their Military Skill was not very great, they had *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Officers under them, who had been in the late disbanded Armies; and ſeveral Foreigners, whom they had invited over from *Flanders*, The principal Officers in the Rebels Army.

A.D.1642 — 18 *Car.* I.

Germany, *&c.* In the Choice of whom the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, they never conſider'd what Nation or Religion they were of; tho' they had the Impudence, at the ſame time, to charge the King with a Deſign to alter Religion, becauſe ſome few of his Popiſh Subjects liſted in his Troops.

The Royaliſts, obſerving the Progreſs the Rebels had made in levying an Army, ſhew'd great Impatience at his Majeſty's Backwardneſs to declare War, and raiſe Forces for the Defence of himſelf and his Friends; but ſtill he ſhewed the utmoſt Reluctance to open a Scene of Blood, which it was not eaſy to foreſee the dire Effects of. However, Colonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portſmouth* for the Parliament, declaring for his Majeſty at this Time, he found himſelf under a Neceſſity of taking the Field, in order to prevent that Fortreſs's falling into the Hands of the Faction again: He diſpatch'd therefore the Marquis of *Hertford* into the Weſt of *England*, together with the Lord *Seymour* his Brother, the Lords *Pawlet*, *Hopton*, *Stawel*, *Coventry*, *Berkley* and *Windham*, Gentlemen of great Intereſt in that Part of the Kingdom, to raiſe Forces there, and relieve *Portſmouth*, which was already beſieged by Sir *William Waller*, and ſurrender'd not long after; and, upon the 12th of *Auguſt*, his Majeſty publiſh'd a Declaration, wherein he diſcovered the Inſolence and rebellious Practices of the Faction in numerous Inſtances (which Declaration is not given us by *Ruſhworth*, but may be found in *Husbands*'s Collection.) And at the ſame time he publiſh'd a Proclamation, requiring all Perſons, who were capable of bearing Arms, to repair to *Nottingham* on the 22d of that inſtant *Auguſt*, when he deſigned to

Goring, Governor of *Portſmouth*, declares for the King, but is forced to ſurrender.

The K.'s Friends raiſe Forces in the Weſt.

Another of the K.'s Declarations ſuppreſs'd by *Ruſhworth*

to erect the Royal Standard there: And his Majesty, having left the Defence of *Yorkshire* and the Northern Counties to the Earl of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, and Sir *Thomas Glenham*, march'd with some few Troops of Horse to *Nottingham*; having no other Infantry with him than the Train'd-Bands, which Sir *John Digby*, the High Sheriff of that County, had drawn together. The Standard having been erected on the Day prefix'd (the 22d of *August*) the Earl of *Essex*, at the Head of the Rebel Army, consisting of Fifteen thousand Men, advanced as far as *Northampton*; whereupon the King's Friends appeared to be in some Pain for him; and, I find, it was the general Opinion, that if the Rebels had continued their March to *Nottingham*, the King could not then have made Head against them; which made some advise the King's retiring to *York*; but his Majesty would not hear of retreating. Then it was proposed, that the King should send a Message to the Parliament, to treat of an Accommodation; which if they refused, he might however amuse them till his Forces were assembled; which, with some difficulty, he consented to: And Commissioners being sent to *Westminster* accordingly, the Lord *Clarendon* relates, that they were treated with such Contempt and Indignity by the factious few that were left there, as made the Nation in general sensible of their Insolence, and greatly advanced his Majesty's Affairs; insomuch, that the Number of the King's Forces was vastly increased within twenty Days after his Arrival at *Nottingham*.

A.D. 1642
18 *Car.* I.

The K.'s Standard erected at *Nottingham*.

The Tyranny and Cruelty alſo which the Faction exerciſed on their Fellow-Subjects who remained Loyal to their Prince, gave the No-

The Tyranny and Cruelty of the Faction

*A.D.*1642 bility and Gentry terrible Apprehenſions of what they were to expect from theſe Uſurpers. They who had bauled ſo loud formerly againſt the Invaſion of Liberty and Property, made the greateſt Encroachments on both. In every Country, through which their Forces march'd, if they ſuſpected any to be in the King's Intereſt, they ſeized on their Perſons, plunder'd their Goods, and confiſcated their Eſtates. In *Northamptonſhire* particularly, they made the Lord *Montague*, of *Boughton*, Priſoner; tho' he was then Fourſcore Years of Age: In *Oxfordſhire* they took the Earl of *Berkſhire*, and in *Devon* the Earl of *Bath*, and ſent them Priſoners to *London*, with many other Gentlemen and Perſons of Diſtinction: And when the Priſons about *London* were crowded with theſe Delinquents, as they called them, abundance of Clergy and Gentlemen were ſent on Board of Ships, and there kept under Hatches, deſtitute of moſt of the Neceſſaries of Life, and no Friends ſuffer'd to ſee them; and here, as well as on Shore, many of theſe brave Men periſhed, without being brought to a Tryal, and indeed without being charged with any Crime: A Suſpicion of Loyalty was ſufficient to ruin any Man, both in his Perſon and Fortune. Nor was it the Army only, or thoſe who aſſumed the Authority of Magiſtrates, that committed theſe Outrages, under Colour of Juſtice; but the Rabble in all Counties were let looſe, to inſult and plunder all thoſe who would not declare for the Faction, to which they were chiefly incited by the Puritan Preachers. The Faction alſo took upon them, by their Ordinances, to levy what Sums of Money they pleaſed, by way of Tax (both on Friends and Foes) for the Maintenance of their Forces; while the

18 *Car.* I.

They levy Taxes by their ſole Authority.

King,

King, and those about him, appeared scrupulously careful of invading any Man's Liberty or Property; even *Fairfax*, the greatest Enemy the Royalists had in *Yorkshire*, was suffer'd to go at large, and do what Mischief he could in those Parts, rather than restrain him of his Liberty. Nor did the King levy Money by Force on any Man, contenting himself with the voluntary Contributions that were offer'd; and, tho' his Troops wanted Arms extremely, took none by Force; which Conduct, tho' it gained him the Affection of many, rendered him less able to defend himself and his Friends. But to return to the Army at *Nottingham*; the King's Forces being pretty much encreased, he marched from thence towards *Shrewsbury*, where he arrived on the Twentieth of *September*, without meeting with any Disturbance from the Earl of *Essex*.

A.D. 1642
18 *Car.* I.
Which the King did not.

The King had not been come two Days to *Shrewsbury*, but he received Intelligence, That Sir *John Byron*, who was come from *Oxford* with a considerable Sum of Money, which had been collected for his Majesty's Use in *London*, was besieged in *Worcester* by Part of the Rebel's Army: Whereupon Prince *Rupert*, with a Detachment of Horse, was ordered to advance towards *Worcester* to favour Sir *John Byron*'s Retreat, for the Town was not tenable at that Time, and had but a slender Garrison in it; which Orders were so well executed by the Prince, that the Enemy was defeated, and Sir *John Byron*, with the Money under his Convoy, arrived safe at *Shrewsbury*: This is said to be the first Action that happened between the Royalists and the Rebels, and was called the Fight of *Powick* Bridge, from a Bridge of that Name near

The King marches to *Shrewsbury*.

Prince *Rupert* defeats a Detachment of the Rebels at *Powick Bridge*.

*A.D.*1642 near *Worceſter*, where the Engagement was hotteſt: This little Succeſs gave a great Re-
18 *Car.* I. putation to his Majeſty's Cavalry, which appeared ſuperiour to that of the Enemy in the Beginning of the War, being compoſed chiefly of Gentlemen. The Rebels at *London* being apprehenſive their Party might be diſcouraged by this Defeat, gave out, That their Troops had obtained the Victory, and ordered a Thankſgiving for their Succeſs; and indeed the Royaliſts abandoning *Worceſter* ſoon after to the Rebels, there was ſome Colour for the Report.

The Strength of the K's Army.

While the King lay at *Shrewsbury*, he had re-enforced his Army by Recruits from *Wales*, and other adjacent Counties; and it conſiſted at this Time of about ſix thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and a thouſand or twelve hundred Dragoons; the Foot were divided into three Brigades, the firſt commanded by Sir *Nicholas Byron*, the ſecond by Colonel *Henry Wentworth*, and the third by Colonel *Fielding*: Sir *Jacob Aſhly* was Major-General, and commanded all the Foot under the Earl of *Lindſey* the General: Old General *Ruthen*, a Native of *Scotland*, was Field-Marſhal, but kept altogether with the Horſe to aſſiſt Prince *Rupert*, who was General of the Cavalry; and Sir *Arthur Aſton* was Colonel General of the Dragoons: Moſt of the Noblemen and Perſons of Diſtinction ſerved in the King's Troop of Guards, commanded by Prince *Charles*, aſſiſted by the Lord *Bernard Stewart*; the Fortunes of which ſingle Troop the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, were equal to all theirs, who at this Time aſſumed the Title of the Lords and Commons of *England* in Parliament aſſembled.

The General Officers.

The K's Guards compos'd of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

The

The King being ſtill in great Want of Treaſure, received a ſeaſonable Supply from the two Univerſities, who made him a Preſent of all their Plate, beſides a conſiderable Sum of Money, by which his Majeſty was enabled to begin his March towards *London*: He left *Shrewsbury* on the 12th of *October*, and advanced as far as *Kennelworth* or *Chillingworth* in *Warwickſhire*, taking *Bridgnorth*, *Wolverhampton* and *Birmingham* in his Way: At *Chillingworth* the Army halted one Day, and here a Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer was opened, in order to attaint the Earl of *Eſſex*, and other Chiefs of the Rebels, of High-Treaſon and Rebellion.

*A.D.*1642 — 18 *Car.* I.

He marches towards *London*.

Arrives at *Kennelworth*.

The Faction at *London* were much ſurpriſed to hear his Majeſty advanced towards that City, not believing it poſſible for him to raiſe an Army, after they had ſtripped him of all his Revenues; but receiving repeated Advices, that the King's Army was more formidable than they expected, they ordered all the Train'd-Bands to their Arms, and threw up a Line or Trench twelve Miles in extent for the Security of the City, the very Women and Children working at it. In the mean time the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe head Quarters was at *Worceſter*, receiving Intelligence of the King's Motions, marched with the greateſt Diligence to prevent his Majeſty's getting to *London* before him; and arriving in the Vale of *Redhorſe*, which lies between *Edghill* and *Keynton* in *Warwickſhire*, His Majeſty, who was then before *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire* ten Miles from *Keynton*, faced about and returned into *Warwickſhire*, in order to give the Rebels Battel; and on *Sunday* the 23d of *October*, both Armies drew up

The Rebels caſt up a Line for the Security of *London*.

The E. of *Eſſex* attends the K's Motions.

*A.D.*1642 up in Battalia, in the Plains or Vale of *Red-horſe* near *Edghill.*

18 *Car.* I.

The Battel of *Keynton* or *Edghill.*

The Army of the Rebels was much ſuperiour in Numbers to that of the King's, eſpecially in Infantry; and beſides, the Earl of *Eſſex* their General, had ſeveral Noblemen in it; as the Earl of *Bedford*, General of the Horſe, aſſiſted by Sir *William Belfour*, the Lords *Kimboulton*, *St. John*, *Wharton*, *Roberts*, *Rochford*, and *Fielding:* The Fathers of the two laſt, *viz.* the Earls of *Dover* and *Denbigh*, being in the King's Army, and that Day charging in the Troop of Guards, the Battel begun about two in the Afternoon, the King's right Wing, commanded by Prince *Rupert*, charged the Enemies left with that Fury, that they ſoon turned their Backs and fled: The left Wing commanded by Commiſſary *Wilmot* met with equal Succeſs, and both purſued the Enemies Cavalry for ſeveral Miles, leaving the King's Foot engaged at a very great Diſadvantage; for they were not only out-numbered by the Rebels Infantry, but a Body of Horſe, which conſtituted their Reſerve, fell in alſo upon the Flanks of the King's Foot, and put them in great Diſorder: The Earl of *Lindſey* the General was mortally wounded, and himſelf and his Son taken Priſoners; Sir *Edward Verney* the Standard-Bearer was killed, and the King with the Prince and Duke were in great Danger; for the Troop of Guards had obtain'd Leave to charge with the reſt of the Horſe. However, Prince *Rupert* with the Cavalry returning from the Chaſe, and the Night drawing on, both Sides retired; and neither of them thought fit to renew the Battel the next Day: The King, 'tis ſaid, had probably obtain'

obtain'd a compleat Victory, if he had not suffered Prince *Rupert* to act independently of the General *Lindsey*, who seemed to foretell that this Disunion of their Troops would prove fatal to him: He charged bravely however, with his half Pike at the Head of the Infantry, and being mortally wounded and made Prisoner, died the next Morning in the Enemies Hands: Besides the General and Sir *Edward Verny*, there were no Persons of Distinction killed on the King's Side, but the Lord *Danbigay*, Son to the Duke of *Lenox*; and on the Rebels Side, only the Lord *St. John* of *Bletsoe*, and Colonel *Charles Essex*, of any Note. The Numbers of the inferiour Officers and common Soldiers that were killed, were much magnified at first; but I can't learn there were above fifteen hundred, or two thousand Men at most, killed in this Action on both Sides: On the King's Part there did not appear above three hundred missing at a Muster two or three Days after the Battel, both Sides claimed the Victory, and both as usual gave God Thanks for it; but I think it may be look'd upon as a drawn Battel: The King's Horse had certainly the Advantage; but their leaving the Foot to shift for themselves, occasioned some Loss and Confusion amonst the Infantry: However, the taking several Pieces of the Rebels Artillery, and one hundred and fifty of their Colours, carried a great Appearance of Victory; and the King's taking *Banbury-Castle* soon after, and continuing his March towards *London*, shew, that he suffered very little from the Engagement at *Edghill*, and that *Essex* had no great Inclination to provoke him to another Engagement.

*A.D.*1642 — 18 *Car.* I.

The principal Officers killed and wounded.

About 2000 Men killed on both Sides.

*A D.*1642 Certain it is, the City of *London* was in a great Conſternation; for ſeveral Officers of the Rebels Horſe that were defeated at the beginning of the Battle fled to *London*, and reported, that all was loſt, and they muſt ſoon expect the victorious Cavaliers at their Gates; inſomuch, that the People thought of nothing elſe but making their Submiſſion, till the Lord *Wharton* arrived two Days after from the Earl of *Eſſex*, with a more perfect Account of the Engagement; and then the Faction, recovering from their Fright, thought fit to give out, that the King's Forces were defeated, many thouſands of them killed, and that their General was in purſuit of the Fugitives; for which they order'd a Thankſgiving as has been intimated already: However, their Leaders were ſo ſenſible of the ill State of their Affairs, that they immediately invited their Brethren of *Scotland* to come to their Aſſiſtance, promiſing to take their Covenant, and eſtabliſh Presbytery in *England*, if they would make a Diverſion in their Favour, by invading the North of *England*, where the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, the King's General, was very powerful at this Time.

18 *Car.* I.

London in a great Conſternation.

The Rebels invite the *Scots* to invade *England* in their Favour.

The Army of the Rebels being retired to *Warwick*, the King publiſhed a Declaration, wherein he gave God Thanks for his Victory, and the Preſervation of himſelf and Family; and ſhews, that the Rebels had more Papiſts in their Army, than were in his own, having taken ſeveral in the late Battle; and aſſures his Subjects, That he had no Thoughts of ſubduing the Parliament, as was falſly given out; but ſhould with all his Power maintain their Rights and Privileges againſt

The K's Declaration after the Battle.

againſt thoſe few factious and ſeditious Members at *Weſtminſter*, who aſſumed that Name, and had raiſed an Army to kill their King, to alter the Laws and Government, to force the Members to ſubmit to their Faction, and take away all Freedom of Conſultation from them; who made it their Buſineſs to create Diviſions among his Subjects, and render the Gentry odious to the Common-people. His Majeſty alſo ſent a Proclamation to *London*, containing a Pardon for all who had taken Arms againſt him, except ſome of the Chiefs; declaring, that whatever his Succeſs was, he ſhould protect the Perſons and Effects of the Citizens, and not ſuffer them to be plunder'd by his Soldiers, as the Faction maliciouſly gave out; aſcribing the Tumults that had happen'd in the City to the Rabble, and not to the principal Citizens, who were under a Force, and could not act with Freedom any more than the Parliament. *A.D.* 1642 — 18 *Car.* I.

Banbury taken

The King, having taken *Banbury-Caſtle*, marched to *Oxford*, which he deſigned to make his head Quarters; but before he quitted the Field, it was thought adviſable to march towards *London*, in order to diſcover the Inclinations of the Citizens. His Majeſty with his Army arriving at *Reading*, the Garriſon of the Rebels, commanded by *Harry Martin*, thought fit to quit the Town to the Loyaliſts and retire to *London*, which put their factious Leaders in a greater Fright than ever, and occaſioned their propoſing a Treaty; but one of their Commiſſioners not being acceptable to his Majeſty, a Safe-conduct was deny'd him: And the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had been commanded to advance with the ut-

The King takes poſſeſſion of *Reading*

*A.D.*1642 moſt Expedition, arriving in the Neighbourhood of the City, the Faction began to ſhew an Indifference towards a Treaty: Whereupon the young Prince *Rupert*, elevated with the Succeſs he had hitherto met with in every Encounter, advanced with the Horſe as far as *Brentford*, within ſeven Miles of *London*; which he ventur'd to do without the King's knowledge. His Majeſty, being acquainted with the Step the Prince had taken, and receiving advice, that the Enemies Army, which was quarter'd in the neighbouring Towns, were aſſembling to cut off that Body of Horſe, found himſelf under a Neceſſity of advancing to *Brentford* with the Infantry, in order to ſuſtain them; and the Enemy, who had quarter'd three or four Regiments in that Town, were ſo briſkly attacked, that they were defeated, ſeveral Pieces of Cannon and Colours taken, with above five hundred Priſoners. However, his Majeſty order'd moſt of the Priſoners to be releaſed, on their taking an Oath not to ſerve againſt him for the future; but this Precaution was of little Service to the King, for the Puritan Preachers immediately abſolved the Soldiers from this Oath, and they took up Arms in the Service of the Rebels again.

18 *Car.* I.

The Rebels beaten out of *Brentford.*

This Action at *Brentford* the Faction bitterly exclaimed againſt, pretending they were engaged in a Treaty; but there were no Preliminaries ſettled, as has been ſhewn already, and the King was obliged to march to *Brentford* to ſupport his Horſe. However, the Lord *Clarendon* ſeems to look upon this Action, to have been very unhappy, inaſmuch as the Rebels had determined to enter into a Trea-

ty

ty with his Majesty, and actually sent to the King to desire a Cessation of Arms; but the Messenger, finding part of the Troops engaged at *Brentford*, return'd to his Masters without delivering his Message. Wherepon the Faction gave out, the King was inexorable: That he would admit of no Treaty; but intended to surprize the City, and give the Plunder of it to his Soldiers; which many believing, were induced to make their utmost Efforts to stop the Progress of the King's Army. *A.D.*1642 18 *Car.* I.

The City Train'd-Bands, under the Command of *Skippon*, were ordered to march immediately and reinforce the Earl of *Essex*; and these united Troops, amounting to Twenty-four thousand Men, were drawn up in Battalia, by the Earl of *Holland*, on *Turnham-Green*, a little Mile from *Brentford*; the factious Lords, and several Members of the Commons, coming down and appearing at the Head of their Army to encourage them. The King's Army also was drawn out, and stood facing the Rebels for several Hours, and a general Battel was expected; but, as the King's Army was much inferior to the Enemy, in point of Numbers, his Majesty was determined not to engage, unless he was attack'd: And the Rebels thought they gain'd a great Point in preventing the Royalists approaching the City. Whereupon the King's Army drew off in the Evening, and were quarter'd in and about *Kingston*; his Majesty lying that Night in his own Palace of *Hampton-Court*, where the Rebels let him rest in quiet, without attempting to beat up his Quarters. A few Days after, the King march'd with the Army to *Reading*, where he waited some time, in Expectation the Faction would have made some

The City Train'd-Bands reinforce the Earl of *Essex*.

The two Armies face each other, but retire without fighting.

A.D. 1642 — 18 *Car.* I.

some Overtures for an Accommodation; but receiving nothing but insolent Petitions, filled with Invectives, from them, he left a Garrison of Ten thousand Foot, and a Regiment of Horse, in *Reading*, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Aston*; and, returning to *Oxford*, sent the rest of the Army into Winter-Quarters.

Reading garrison'd by the King. He returns to *Oxford*.

During the Winter, the King endeavoured to keep the *Scots* from joining the *English* Rebels: He represented, that the War was not between him and the two Houses of Parliament, but carried on against him by some factious Members, who had driven away the rest, assuring them, that, of above five hundred Members the House of Commons consisted of, there were not above fourscore remaining at *Westminster*; and of the House of Peers, which consisted of an hundred Lords and upwards, there were not above fifteen or sixteen there; and these were so over-awed by the Multitudes of Brownists, Anabaptists, and Persons of desperate Fortunes, that their Consultations had not that Freedom which was necessary for such Councils: Assuring them, he had been forced to take up Arms for the Defence of his Life, the Maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, and the Preservation of the Constitution; and no longer hoped for a Blessing on his Undertakings, than he endeavoured the Defence and Advancement of these.

The King endeavours to gain the *Scots*.

In the mean time, the Faction were busy in raising Money and making Preparations for another Campaign: They appointed Committees in *London*, and every County where they were Masters, to tax the People arbitrarily, imprisoning those who refused to submit to their Tyranny: They constituted Governors or General-

The Rebels raise Money and Troops by their own Authority.

Generals in the ſeveral aſſociated Counties under their Power, *viz.* in the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Northampton*, *Rutland*, *Leiceſter*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Eſſex*, who were empower'd to raiſe new Forces, and garriſon ſuch Places as might contribute to their Defence; but the Counties in the North and Weſt were generally devoted to the King, except the Sea-ports in the Weſt of *England*, which depended on the Fleet. *A.D.* 1642. 18 *Car.* I. The aſſociated Counties.

And, as there were two Powers now in *England*, the one legal, and the other uſurped, each of them endeavoured to cultivate a good Underſtanding with Foreign Princes and States; but, unhappily for the King and Nation, moſt of theſe propoſed an Advantage to themſelves, by a Continuance of our Diviſions; and therefore endeavoured rather to foment, than put an End to them: The *French* had acted the Part of Incendiaries from the beginning: The *Spaniards* had a View to the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, and had promoted the Rebellion there; while the *Dutch* were glad to ſee us turn our Swords upon one another, which ought to have been employ'd in recovering the Spice Iſlands they had ſo barbarouſly and unjuſtly raviſhed from us; and in maintaining our Foreign Commerce and the Dominion of the Seas, which they have ever ſince rivalled us in: Their Religion alſo being the ſame with that profeſs'd by the Faction, was no ſmall Inducement to their favouring that Cauſe. Poreign Powers encourage the Rebels.

In the Weſt of *England* both Sides made a kind of Winter's Campaign of it. The Lords *Digby* and *Grandiſon* took *Marlborough* in *Wiltſhire* from the Rebels in the Month of *December*; Actions in the Weſt.

*A.D.*1642 *December*; and Sir *William Waller*, on the other hand, made himself Master of *Farnham*, *Winchester*, and *Chichester*, for the Parliament; while Sir *Ralph Hopton* secured the whole County of *Cornwal* for the King.

18 *Car.* I.

Farther Concessions in *Rapin*, to the Disadvantage of his Party.

Before I make any farther Progress in the History of the Rebellion, give me leave to mention some farther Concessions in the Writers of *Rapin*, which seem to bear very hard upon the Party they espouse; as in p. 322 of the Eleventh Volume, *Tindal*'s Translation; where they say, "That if the endeavouring "to render the King odious to his People was "Treason, the six Members (he accused) "were not the only guilty Persons: If the "inviting the *Scotish* Army to come to *Eng-* "*land* was Treason, how could the House of "Commons clear themselves? If it was Trea- "son to subvert the Rights and the very Be- "ing of Parliaments, both Houses were guilty "of this Crime: If raising Tumults was Trea- "son, the countenancing and encouraging "these same Tumults was no less so; and of "this the whole House of Commons was "guilty. In short, the Charge against these "particular Members, for conspiring to levy, "and for actually levying, War against the "King, struck at the whole House, who had "countenanced the tumultuous Assemblies, set "themselves a Guard, and provided them- "selves with Arms."

Here is every Particular confess'd, with which the Faction have been charged. What could a Cavalier have suggested more? For, if these Facts are true, the Party can never be acquitted of the Guilt of Rebellion, and of being the Authors of all the Blood-shed and Devastation occasioned by the War that followed.

Give

Give me leave to obſerve farther the Arrogance that frequently appears in the Writers of *Rapin*, and particularly on this Occaſion of proſecuting the five Members of the Commons for High-Treaſon: Here they take upon them to pronounce, p. 329 of the Volume abovementioned, *That it is an undoubted Maxim, That no Member can be proceeded againſt without the Conſent of the Houſe.* Had they been acquainted with Sir *Simon D'Ewes*'s Journals of Parliament, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, they might have ſeen forty Inſtances where that Queen committed Members of Parliament to Priſon, even in Caſes that were neither Treaſon, Felony, or Breach of the Peace, not only without the Leave of the Commons, but againſt their Conſent; and he could not but remember, that Dr. *Parry* was committed, tried and condemned for High-Treaſon, without demanding any ſuch Leave. But farther, will any Man, that has not the Aſſurance of the Writers of that notable Hiſtory, affirm, That Members of Parliament are privileged to commit Murders, Rapes, and even High-Treaſon and Rebellion, and cannot be reſtrained or impriſoned by the Civil Magiſtrate, without firſt obtaining Leave of the Houſe. There is not a private Juſtice of Peace in *England* but is able to confute this Error, which theſe Pretenders to *Engliſh* Hiſtory would eſtabliſh as an undoubted Maxim. What Magiſtrate, knowing of a Member's being ready to murder or rebel againſt his Prince, would ſcruple to commit the Criminal? Surely he would be looked upon as an Acceſſary to the Crime, by our Laws, if he refuſed it; notwithſtanding the pretended Maxim in *Rapin*. And indeed theſe very Writers, in the next Page, ac-

A. 1642-3
18 *Car.* I.
Rapin aſſerts falſly that no Member can be proſecuted for Treaſon without the Conſent of the Houſe.

 knowledge

A. 1642-3 knowledge the Matter to be charged with Difficulties they could not clear: So that, in their own Opinion, this *undoubted* Maxim, That a Member could not be proceeded againſt without the Conſent of the Houſe, is, at laſt, liable to *Doubt*; but nothing is more common than ſuch Inconſiſtencies in this admired Hiſtory.

18 *Car.* I.

Rapin and the Faction diſagree about the fundamental Laws, or original Contract.

We meet with another extraordinary Conceſſion in *Rapin*, Vol. 11. p. 418; where, ſpeaking of the Reſolution of the two Houſes, that they were empower'd to make an Ordinance for ſettling the Militia *by the fundamental Laws of the Land*, they acknowledge, that this *fundamental Law* was nothing elſe but the Law of Nature; for, ſay they, *there was no poſitive Law which gave this Power to the two Houſes of Parliament.* And from thence they conclude, we were then in a State of Nature; which is, however, in part anſwer'd by themſelves in the next Page; where they obſerve, that if we were then in a State of Nature, the two Houſes could have no Right to be the King's great Council, as they ſtill pretended they were: For the ſame Laws that conſtituted them the King's great Council, eſtabliſh'd his Majeſty's Prerogative, and gave him a Right to command the Militia. But ſhould we admit for once, that the Nation was then in a State of Nature, and all Laws ſuſpended, or rather aboliſh'd, how came we in that wretched State? If any thing conduced to this, it was the ſeditious Rabble which the Faction had ſpirited up to awe both King and Parliament, and compel them to paſs ſuch Acts as they preſcribed. Theſe were the Men that deprived King, Lords and Commons of their Rights; of the Liberty of acting with that Freedom the Legiſlature ought. And is it

it reaſonable that ſuch Traytors to the Conſtitution ſhould take Advantage of their own Rebellion? That the Laws ſhould be ſilent in their Favour, becauſe they were endeavouring to ſubvert the Laws? This indeed may be a Doctrine very agreeable to factious and ſeditious People, the Refuſe of Mankind, and ſome few ambitious Spirits, who hope to advance themſelves by impoſing on the deluded Multitude. But neither the Prince, the Clergy, the Nobility, or Gentry, or even the Bulk of the People, who have any thing to loſe, will ever ſubſcribe to this Doctrine. There were not many Men probably at that Time, but thought they had ſtill a Right to their Eſtates; whereas, had the Nation been in a State of Nature, as the Writers of *Rapin* affirm, all private as well as publick Rights muſt have vaniſh'd; and every Man might have claim'd whatever he could ſeize. And indeed thus far did the Rebels at laſt carry it. The Nobility, Clergy and Gentry were deſpoiled of their Rights and Liberties, and many of them loſt their Lives; while others were impriſon'd or tranſported like common Felons, and their Eſtates poſſeſs'd by the vileſt of the People. Theſe are the bleſſed Effects of that Doctrine; *That whenever the Subject thinks himſelf aggrieved by his Prince, and is pleaſed to take up Arms againſt him, the Laws are no longer in Force; we are then in a State of Nature, and every Man at Liberty to carve for himſelf.*

A 1642-3
18 *Car.* I.

Unreaſonable for Rebels to expect the Laws ſhould be ſilent in their Favour.

But to proceed; nothing is more common in the Hiſtory that carries *Rapin*'s Name, than for one Paragraph or Page to contradict another: Thus in Vol. 11, p. 567, it is remarked, That the King declared both Houſes guilty of High-Treaſon, and Vol. 12, p. 7,

Contradictions in *Rapin*.

A. 1642-3 it is said, That the Houſes were *not* declared Traytors or Rebels, but thoſe who executed their Orders. But to return:

18 *Car.* I.

Petitions for Peace in the City ſuppreſſed by the Faction.

The principal Inhabitants of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, being now ſufficiently ſenſible of the Miſeries of a Civil War, drew up Petitions to the two Houſes (which were ſigned by many thouſands) That ſuch Propoſitions of Peace might be made to his Majeſty, as he might accept with Honour; but the Faction ſuppreſſed theſe Petitions, and would not ſuffer them to be delivered, under pretence they were prepared by a Multitude, and procured other Petitions from their Party in the City; ſhewing, that they deſired Peace on no other Terms than the two Houſes did; (*viz.*) *That the King ſhould transfer the Regal Power to them, and ſurrender himſelf and his Friends into their mercileſs Hands.* And one of the Faction (a Preſbyterian) had the Aſſurance to ſay, *That he hoped ſhortly to waſh his Hands in the King's Blood*; againſt whom, when the King demanded Juſtice, the whole Faction protected him, which ſhews, that the Preſbyterians, who had the Power in their Hands at this time, no leſs thirſted after the King's Blood than the Independants, who actually executed him; and if they afterwards declared againſt the King's Murder, it was becauſe they ſaw, when the King was removed, they ſhould be oblig'd to ſubmit their Necks to the Iron Yoke of the Independants, and had no Hopes of eſtabliſhing their Idol Preſbytery, but by preſerving the King's Life at that time, whoſe Diſtreſſes they propoſed to make ſubſervient to their grand Deſign (which is demonſtrable from the Terms they would have impoſed on him at the Iſle

The Preſbyterians no leſs Enemies to the King than the Independants.

of

of *Wight* and elſewhere :) But to return ; The two Houſes having paſs'd a Bill for the Extirpation of Biſhops, ſent a Deputation to *Oxford* with Propoſitions of Peace, exactly agreeing with the Petition of their Friends in the City, to which they were very well ſatisfied the King would never agree : However, their Commiſſioners were civilly treated at *Oxford* ; and, after the King had made the utmoſt Conceſſions that were conſiſtent with his Soveraignty, he let them know, that if they refuſed thoſe equitable Conditions, *The Guilt of the Blood that muſt be ſhed, and the Deſolation that muſt follow, would lie upon the Heads of the Refuſers.* *A.* 1642-3 18 *Car.* I.

In the mean time, the Royaliſts being entirely Maſters of *Cornwal*, the Rebels of the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, and *Devon*, aſſembled all their Troops, and marched under the Command of *Ruthen*, Governor of *Plymouth* for the Parliament, to attack them ; but *Ruthen* was defeated at *Bradock-Down* the 19th of *January*, and purſued by the Royaliſts into the County of *Devon* ; and ſome little time after, the Inhabitants of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, agreed to a Neutrality for thoſe two Counties, which was not however long obſerved, the Parliament refuſing to confirm it. The Rebels defeated at *Bradock-Down* A Neutrality agreed on for *Devon* and *Cornwal*.

Prince *Rupert*, in the Beginning of *February*, took *Cirenceſter* by Storm, which lying about thirty Miles from *Oxford*, on the Confines of *Wiltſhire*, *Berkſhire*, and *Oxfordſhire*, gave the King an Opportunity of extending his Quarters to the Weſtward, and the Earl of *Newcaſtle* remaining Maſter of the Field in the North, his Majeſty's Affairs ſeemed to be in a proſperous Condition, and were ſtill

A. 1642-3 18 *Car.* I.

still advanced by the Arrival of the Queen in *Burlington-Bay* in *Yorkshire*, with Arms, Ammunition, and Money, and some experienced Officers. The Earl of *Montrose* meeting her Majesty soon after she landed, let her know that the King's Enemies in *Scotland* certainly intended to bring an Army into *England* and joyn the Rebels; but if the King would grant him and his Friends Commissions to levy Forces for his Service in *Scotland*, they would undertake to prevent the Friends of the Faction giving him any Disturbance on this Side the *Tweed*, which he begged she would communicate to his Majesty: The *Scotish* Presbyterians, suspecting what Intelligence the Earl of *Montrose* had given the Queen, dispatched the Marquis of *Hamilton* to her Majesty, who assured her, that the King need not be at the Expence of levying an Army in *Scotland*, for he would undertake to keep all Things quiet there; and *Hamilton*, whose principal Talent seems to have been a most exquisite Hypocrisy, prevailed on the Queen to give Credit to him, and to dismiss the brave, the faithful *Montrose*, with a Coldness which his Zeal for the King's Service did not deserve, to the irreparable Damage of the King's Affairs: For, as the Rebellion in *England* was at first promoted and countenanced by the *Scots*; so had it been soon suppressed, if those Saints had not entered *England* a second Time in favour of their Fanatick Brethren, as well in hopes of plundering the fruitful Southern Counties, as with a View of making the whole Island of *Great Britain* bow to their DAGON PRESBYTERY. In the mean time some Gentlemen of *Staffordshire* having seized and fortified

The Q. arrives with Arms, &c. in *Yorkshire*.

Montrose offers to raise Forces for the King.

The King betrayed by *Hamilton*.

tified *Litchfield-Close* for the King, the Lord *Brook*, with a Detachment of the Rebels Army, inveſted the Place, and was killed by a Shot from the Cathedral on the ſecond of *March*: However, Sir *John Gell*, on whom the Command of the Rebels Forces devolv'd, ſoon after obliged the Royaliſts to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War, and advancing towards *Stafford*, which was alſo garriſon'd for the King: The Earl of *Northampton*, who had been ſent with a Detachment of the King's Forces to the Relief of *Litchfield-Close*, finding that Town taken, marched after Sir *John Gell* to *Stafford*, and entered the Town before the Rebels had inveſted it; whereupon *Gell* retired, and joined another Body of the Parliament's Forces, commanded by Sir *William Brereton*: After which, he returned towards *Stafford* again, and was encountered by the Earl of *Northampton* the 19th of *March* on *Hopton-Heath*, about two Miles from *Stafford*, where the Royaliſts gain'd the Victory, but loſt their General, the brave *Spencer Compton*, Earl of *Northampton*. He left ſix Sons behind him, all of them engaged in the Service of their King, and three of them charged this Day under the Command of their Father: The youngeſt afterwards took Orders, and was advanced to the Biſhoprick of *London*, which See he filled with great Honour.

Litchfield-Close taken by the Rebels.

The Rebels defeated at *Hopton-Heath*, but the E. of *Northampton* is killed.

The Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Marquis of *Worceſter*, being appointed to command in *South-Wales* by his Majeſty, had, with the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, raiſed a Body of two thouſand Horſe and Foot; who were ſent to inveſt the Town of *Worceſter* on the Side of *Wales*; as another Detachment, commanded by

Sir *William Waller* defeats the Royaliſts near *Worceſter*.

A. 1642-3 by the King's Nephew Prince *Maurice*, was
18 *Car.* I. to have done on the *Engliſh* Side the *Severn*;
but Sir *William Waller*, whoſe Talent lay
chiefly in ſurpriſing his Enemies ſuddenly,
beat up the *Welchmen*'s Quarters on the 23d
of *March* in the Night Time, before Prince
Maurice had joined them, and obliged moſt
of the *Welch* to ſurrender Priſoners of War;
the Lord *Herbert* their General being at
that Time with the King at *Oxford*.

A Treaty propoſed by the K.

Still the King left no Means unattempted
to put an End to theſe unnatural Wars by a
Treaty; and, in order to it, made ſome
Overtures to the Two Houſes for a Ceſſation of
Arms; but during the Negotiation, the Fac-

The Rebels lay a weekly Tax on the Subject.

tion paſs'd an Ordinance for a weekly Aſſeſ-
ment through their Kingdom for the Mainte-
nance of their Troops, the City of *London*
being taxed at ten thouſand Pounds a Week,
and the reſt of the Kingdom, at Thirty-three
thouſand five hundred and eighteen Pounds
a Week; and made another Ordinance for
ſeizing and ſequeſtring the Eſtates of all thoſe
who adhered to the King; which evidently
ſhew, that the Faction had very little Inclina-
tion to Peace; and therefore the King's
Friends very juſtly repreſented, that a Ceſſa-
tion of Arms in theſe Circumſtances muſt
infallibly ruin them more than the Continu-
ance of Hoſtilities could: This Inſolence of
the Rebels, proceeded from an Aſſurance that
their Friends in *Scotland* would ſoon march to
their Aſſiſtance; for, about the ſame Time

The *Scots* threaten to join the Rebels, if the King would not eſtabliſh Preſbytery

the Earl of *Loudon*, and *Henderſon* the grand
Incendiary, arrived from *Scotland* at the Court
of *Oxford*, the one with an Offer of the Me-
diation of the *Scots* between the King and
the Parliament of *England*, and the other

with

with a Petition from the Kirk of *Scotland* for Uniformity of Kirk Government (meaning the Presbyterian) in all the King's Dominions; and gave him to understand, if he did not grant this, he must expect the *Scots* would become his Enemies: They assumed indeed the Title of Mediators; but it was with no other View, than to compel the King to destroy the Church of *England*, and establish Presbytery in the room of it; which when the *Scotish* Commissioners found the King would never yield to, they desired Passes to go to *London* (that they might concert Measures against him with their Friends there; but the King was not so impolitick as to suffer this: However, Commissioners arriving at *Oxford* from the Parliament, while the *Scotish* Commissioners continued there, they could not want an Opportunity of communicating their respective Sentiments and Designs to each other, and probably this was one Reason the Faction sent down Commissioners to treat with his Majesty at this Time: Another Inducement for sending them, was to impose upon the People, and perswade them they were not averse to Peace, though 'tis certain nothing was farther from their Thoughts, if we may judge by the Instructions they gave their Commissioners, who had no Power to agree to any thing, unless the King would submit to be governed by the Faction, which his Majesty shewing no Inclination to, the two Houses recalled their Commissioners, and they returned to *London* the fifteenth of *April*.

A. 1642-3 18 *Car.* I.

A Treaty at *Oxford*.

This Treaty was no sooner broken off, but the Earl of *Essex* assembled his Army, amounting to about twenty thousand Men, and laid

Reading besieged by the Rebels.

A.D. 1643 laid Siege to *Reading*, in which was a Garriſon
19 *Car.* I. of between three and four thouſand Men of the King's beſt Troops, whom his Majeſty was in great Pain for, knowing the Town not to be tenable, and his Army ſo diſperſed, that he could not ſuddenly march to the Relief of it; Prince *Rupert* had been for ſome time engaged in the Siege of *Litchfield*, which made a more obſtinate Defence than was expected; however, that City ſurrendring upon honourable Terms on the twenty-firſt of *April*, the King ſent to the Prince to join him with all Diligence, and in the mean time aſſembled that Part of his Army which was quarter'd about *Oxford*, and marched towards *Reading*, in hopes of finding ſome Opportunity of withdrawing the Garriſon of that Place; but before he arrived, the Garriſon were capitulating, and Colonel *Fielding*, who commanded in the Place after *Aſton* the Governor was wounded, found Means in the Night Time to acquaint his Majeſty, that he believed the Enemy would conſent to his marching away with his Garriſon and all their Arms and Baggage; which Conditions the King ordered him to accept, and Articles were ſigned accordingly on the 26th of *April*, with this Alteration only, that ſuch Soldiers ſhould be excepted as had deſerted the Parliament; which occaſioned Colonel *Fielding*'s being tried by a Court Martial afterwards, by which he was condemn'd to die, tho' he was afterwards pardon'd. This created an unhappy Diſſenſion among the Officers of the King's Troops; ſome of them affirming, that *Fielding* ought to have died for delivering up ſo many poor Men to be murdered, who had fled to the King for Protection; while other

Surrender'd.

The Deſerters given up by *Fielding*.

others alledg'd, he had done the King great Service in saving the Garrison, and that better Terms could not have been obtained. It seems the Capitulation also was notoriously broken by the Rebels, several of the Soldiers Arms being taken from them, and their Baggage plunder'd; which the King's Forces did not spare to retaliate the next Advantage they gained; and this destroyed all Confidence in the End between the contending Parties, very few Capitulations being well observed afterwards. But to proceed; the Earl of *Essex*, after the Surrender of *Reading*, did not think fit to enter upon any further Action immediately; but on the contrary, retired towards *London*, and daily importun'd his Masters for Recruits and Supplies of Ammunition and Provision, as if he had received a notable Defeat: In the mean time the Royalists gained several Advantages over their Enemies; particularly, the young Earl of *Northampton* routed a Detachment of the Rebels that were about to invest *Banbury* on the 6th of *May*; and Sir *Ralph Hopton* on the 16th of the same Month, gained a compleat Victory over seven or eight thousand of the Parliament's Troops, commanded by the Earl of *Stamford* and Major-General *Chudleigh*, near *Stratton* in *Cornwal*, which was looked upon to be so important a Piece of Service, that Sir *Ralph* was created Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*, where he obtained the Victory; and soon after, both Major-General *Chudleigh*, and his Father Sir *George Chudleigh*, abandoned the Rebels, and came over to the King: The Earl of *Newcastle*'s Troops about the same Time conveyed a great Quantity of Ammunition and warlike Stores from *York* to his Majesty at *Oxford*; whose Affairs appearing

A.D. 1643

19 *Car.* I.

The Capitulation violated.

The Battle of *Stratton*.

The *Chudleighs* abandon the Rebels.

*A.D.*1643 now to be in a prosperous Condition, he thought it proper once more to make the Fac-
19 *Car.* I. tion Overtures of Peace, which were accep-
Terms of Peace propos'd again by the K. ted with Joy by the Lords at *Westminster*, but with the greatest Contempt by the Commons, who imprisoned the Messenger that brought them, threatning to hang him for a Spy; and in return for the gracious Offer they impeached the Queen of High-Treason, in assisting the King her Husband with Arms and Ammunition to maintain the War: This Impeachment was carried up to the Lords by that grand Incendiary *Pym*, who probably framed it, with a View of rendring all Accommodation impracticable, being well assured, that if ever the People returned to their Duty, he, and the Leaders of the Faction would be made a Sacrifice to the Justice of the Nation, having invaded and encroached on the Rights and Privileges of Parliament and People, no less than on the Royal Prerogatives; and this is further manifest by the Orders they sent to Colonel *Fiennes*, Governor of *Bristol*, to execute Alderman *Yeoman* and Mr. *George Bourchier* of that City about the same Time, who had been condemned by a Court Martial for holding Correspondence with Prince *Rupert*, and a Design of delivering up the City to him; and notwithstanding the Interposition of his Majesty and several Persons of Distinction to save them, those loyal Gentlemen were executed in pursuance of the Sentence of the Rebels Court Martial.

Two Royalists executed at *Bristol* for corresponding with Prince *Rupert*.

These rigorous Proceedings alarm'd the moderate Men, who had hitherto adhered to the Parliament, in hopes of obtaining Peace on such Conditions as might secure the

Right

Rights and Liberties, which they apprehended would be in ſome Danger, if the King ſhould ſubdue the Parliament by Force of Arms; for now they evidently ſaw, that their Liberties and Properties were much more likely to be invaded by the furious Leaders of the Faction, who had for ſome Time taken upon them arbitrarily to levy Taxes and impriſon Men's Perſons, than from the King's reſuming the Regal Power. *A.D.*1643 19 *Car.* I.

Some of the Nobility therefore, and Perſons of Diſtinction about Town, aſſociating with the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens, who would have been glad to have ſeen Peace reſtored, came to a Reſolution to endeavour to diſpoſe their Leaders to offer his Majeſty equitable Terms of Peace; and if this was refuſed, to form a Party ſtrong enough in the City to oppoſe the levying any Taxes or Impoſitions on them for the Continuance of the War; of which *Pym*, and the moſt deſperate Villains of the Faction having Notice, pretended that there was a Plot to deſtroy the Parliament, and deliver up the City of *London* to the King; and Mr. *Waller* the celebrated Poet, with Mr. *Tomkins* a Citizen, his Brother-in law, Mr. *Chaloner* and ſome others, who were ſuppoſed to have been moſt active in this Plot, were thereupon apprehended and examined: Mr. *Waller* had the Weakneſs to confeſs, that the Earl of *Portland*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Conway*, were privy to ſome ſuch Deſign as has been mentioned, which made the Plot generally credited, and a Thankſgiving was appointed for the Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy. A ſolemn Covenant and Aſſociation alſo was entered into by both Houſes, and afterwards required of

An Attempt to procure a Peace.

Chriſtened Mr. *Waller*'s Plot.

*A.D.*1643 of the Citizens, and all that were under the Power of the Rebels; importing, "That "they would never consent to the laying "down the Arms, which they had taken up "against the King, while he protected Pa-"pists (by whom they meant the King's "Friends in general:) That they abhorred and "detested the wicked Design lately discove-"red, and would never consent to any of "the like Nature; and, as they did in their "Conscience believe, that the Forces raised "by the two Houses, were raised and con-"tinued for the just Defence of the true "Protestant Religion and Liberty of the "Subject, they would assist them against the "Forces raised by the King".

19 *Car.* I.

An Association by the Parliament against the King.

After this, they proceeded to try several of the Gentlemen they had apprehended, by a Council of War, among whom Mr. *Tompkins* and Mr. *Chaloner*, being condemned, were executed; and others continued in Prison till they died. The Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Conway* were imprisoned also, and frequently examined by a Committee, but denying their Knowledge of any Conspiracy, and there being no other Evidence but Mr. *Waller* against them, they did not think fit to proceed further against those Lords; nor did they take much Notice of the Share the Earl of *Northumberland* was said to have in it; 'tis probable they prudently passed by these, and many more, lest a Party should be formed against the Faction by the Friends of these Noblemen, who joining with the Royalists, might have defeated their Schemes.

Tompkins and *Chaloner* executed.

Mr. *Waller*, being a Member of the Commons, appealed from the Council of War to the House, and, being brought to the Bar, shewed

Mr. *Waller* fined 10,000 *l.*

shewed of what ill Consequence it might be, to suffer one of their own Body to be try'd by the Soldiers, and was thereupon taken out of the Hands of the Military Men, and sent to the Tower; and being afterwards suffered to speak in his Defence, he made so moving a Speech, that he escaped with his Life, and was only fined ten thousand Pounds; but there were other things besides his Oratory that contributed to his Safety; as the great Interest he had among the People, and the Money he prudently distributed among the Leaders of the Faction and the Fanatick Preachers, who were thereby induced to labour his Deliverance; for this Gentleman was possessed of an Estate of four thousand Pounds a Year, a Fortune that few Commoners were Masters of in those Times. *A.D.* 1643 19 *Car.* I.

While the Faction were busy'd in prosecuting their Enemies at *London*, the Earl of *Essex* recruited his Army, which had suffer'd pretty much before *Reading*, and marched as far as *Thame*, within twelve miles of *Oxford*, cantoning his Troops, at a little Distance from that City, whereby the King was extremely straitened and incommoded in his Quarters; when, fortunately for his Majesty, Colonel *Hurry*, a Native of *Scotland*, having been disobliged by the Earl of *Essex*, deserted over to the Royalists, and brought Intelligence, that the Rebels, expecting no Enemy, were quarter'd in such a manner, that it would be very easy to surprise them before they could form themselves into a Body. Whereupon Prince *Rupert*, marching out of *Oxford* one Evening with a strong Detachment of Horse, and taking a By-road, advanced as far as *Wickham*, where two of the Enemies

The Enemies Quarters beat up near *Thame*.

*A D.*1643 Enemies Regiments lay, and entring the Town on the ſide of *London*, where no Ene-
19 *Car.* I. my was expected, he killed and took moſt of them; from thence he returned towards *Thame*, and fell upon ſeveral other Regiments within two Miles of *Eſſex*'s head Quarters: Theſe the Prince defeated in like manner, and about Sun-riſe was retiring with his Priſoners and Booty towards *Oxford*, when he was charged by a Body of Horſe, that *Eſſex* had order'd to attack the Prince, and keep him in play till he came up with the Foot; but the Rebels Horſe were ſo warmly received, that they were routed before their Foot could join them, and the Prince returned to *Oxford* in Triumph, on Sunday the 18th of *June*; in that Body of Horſe that attacked the Prince, the famous *Hampden* charged as a Volunteer, and was mortally wounded, which was looked upon as an irreparable Loſs by the Faction, being a Man of the greateſt Courage and Conduct amongſt them, and an inveterate Enemy to the Royal Cauſe. The Lord *Clarendon* compares him to *Cinna* the *Roman*, of whom 'tis ſaid he had *a Head to contrive, a Tongue to perſuade, and a Hand to execute any Miſchief.*

Hampden killed.

The Rebels defeated in *Yorkſhire.*

The Earl of *Newcaſtle*, on the 29th of the ſame Month, alſo defeated a Body of the Rebels, under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax* at *Adderton-Moor* in *Yorkſhire*, which inſpired the Royaliſts with ſuch Courage, that they gave the Earl of *Eſſex* no Reſt, and occaſioned his writing to the Parliament for a Reinforcement of Troops; at the ſame Time he let them know, *That the Cries of the poor People for Peace, were univerſal:* And that it

it was his Opinion they ought to offer his Majesty reasonable Terms; but the Leaders of the Faction being conscious his Majesty could never perfectly forget their Usage of him, and being very well assured their Brethren of *Scotland* would soon join their Troops, they rejected their General's Advice, who thereupon retired with his Army out of *Oxfordshire* and *Buckinghamshire* as far as *St. Albans*, from whence he came in Person to *London*: Here he found the Faction very busy, preparing the Way for a Union with the *Scots*; in order to which, they had formed an Assembly of about 120 Preachers, most of them Puritans, to whom they added ten Lords, and twenty Commoners; and these were to settle Religion according to the *Scotish* or *Geneva* Plan, in consideration of the Assistance that was expected from *Scotland*.

A.D. 1643
19 *Car.* I.

Essex retires from *Thame* towards *London*.

The Assembly of Divines first formed.

Of this Assembly, the Lord *Clarendon* observes, there were not above twenty who were not profess'd Enemies of the Church of *England*; among whom were Archbishop *Usher*, Bishop *Brownrigg*, Bishop *Westfield*, Dr. *Featly*, and Dr. *Oldsworth*; the rest were either Presbyterians, Brownists, or Independants (to whom were joined a Committee from the Kirk of *Scotland*;) most of them, adds the same noble Writer, Men of mean Parts and Learning, if not of scandalous Ignorance, and of no other Reputation than what their Malice to the Church of *England* gave them.

Their Character.

This Assembly of Divines (as they were called) meeting in *Henry* VII's Chappel on the 1st of *July*, were inform'd, that the Two Houses had ordered them four Shillings a Day apiece for their Expences; besides which,

*A.D.*1643 the beſt Livings and Lectorſhips were reſer-
19 *Car.* I. ved for them: The firſt Buſineſs they entered upon, was the drawing up a Petition to the Two Houſes to appoint a Faſt for the better Succeſs of their Arms; requiring alſo, that they would proceed with Severity againſt blind Guides and ſcandalous Miniſters (meaning the Fathers of the eſtabliſhed Church:) That all Monuments of Idolatry and Superſtition might be deſtroyed (the Worſhip and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*;) and that Juſtice might be executed upon all Delinquents (Royaliſts;) that ſo God, who was then by the Sword avenging the Quarrel of his Covenant, beholding their Integrity and Zeal, might turn from the Fierceneſs of his Wrath, hear their Prayers, go forth with their Armies, and perfect the Work of *Reformation* throughout the Kingdom.

Mr. *Whitelock*, who was one of the Members of the Commons, who ſat in this Aſſembly, relates, That the Ignorance of ſome of theſe reforming Miniſters is not to be conceived: That the learned Mr. *Selden*, who alſo ſat amongſt them, frequently expoſed their Folly, and would tell them, that tho' their little gilt Pocket Bibles might ſeem to favour their Opinions, the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Texts carried a different Senſe, which few of them being able to diſpute with him, were forced to ſit down with Shame. The learned Dr. *Featley* and Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and the greateſt Men amongſt them were ſoon expelled this worſhipful Society, for having more Learning and good Senſe than their Brethren, and their Eccleſiaſtical Preferments were taken from them; whereupon the Archbiſhop, and ſeveral others, repaired to the King at *Oxford*.

In

In the mean time, Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Hertford* were ſent with a Detachment of the King's Army, to join Sir *Ralph Hopton* and Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, who commanded the *Corniſh* Men, and the reſt of the Royaliſts in the Weſt, which they happily effected near *Chard* in *Somerſetſhire*; and now making a Body of ſeven or eight thouſand Men, they inveſted *Taunton*, which was immediately abandoned by the Rebels, as was *Bridgwater* the Day following, together with *Dunſtar-Caſtle*, a Fortreſs of greater Strength than either of them. *A.D.* 1643 — 19 *Car.* I. Succeſs of the Royaliſts in the Weſt.

The Parliament receiving Advice of the Succeſs of the King's Forces in the Weſt of *England*, ſent their Hero, Sir *William Waller* (whom they ſtyled *William the Conqueror*, from the Succeſs he uſually met with) thither with a ſelect Body of Troops, who arriving at *Bath*, the King's Generals reſolved to fight him before he was joined by the Rebels from *Briſtol* and the neighbouring Towns; of which *Waller* having Intelligence, drew out his Forces, and encamped on *Lanſdown*, between *Bath* and *Marſfield*, to great Advantage, having fortified the Top of the Hill, and planted Batteries of Cannon on the Approaches and Avenues leading up to it; which the Royaliſts, who were advanced as far as *Marſfield*, obſerving, did not think it adviſable to attack the Rebels in that Situation. Whereupon *Waller* ordered Part of his Horſe to march down the Hill, and ſkirmiſh with the Royaliſts, and by this means inſenſibly engaged them in a general Battel, that ſeems to have been fought with as much Obſtinacy, as any during the War: Here it was, that Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*'s Regiment of Cuiraſſiers, The Fight at *Lanſdown*.

*A.D.*1643 19 *Car.* I. being armed with Back, Breaſt, and Head-Piece, firſt made an Impreſſion on the King's Horſe, who wanted thoſe Advantages: However, as the Gentlemen were very numerous who charged on the King's Side in this Engagement, they drove the Rebels back to their Fortifications on the Hill, and at length obliged them to quit the Hill itſelf, and retire to *Bath*, but with very great Loſs; eſpecially of the principal Officers and Perſons of Diſtinction in the King's Service: The brave Sir *Bevil Greenvil* was mortally wounded, at the inſtant he made himſelf Maſter of the Enemies Batteries and Intrenchments on the Top of the Hill, of whom the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, that a brighter Courage, and a milder Diſpoſition, were never more happily tempered in one Man; and to whoſe Activity and Reputation he principally aſcribes the Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms in *Cornwal*. Major *Skeldon*, a Gentleman of admirable Temper and Courage, died alſo of the Wounds he received in this Engagement: And the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *George Vaughan*, and ſeveral Gentlemen more, were dangerouſly wounded; ſo that the Royaliſts paid very dear for this Appearance of a Victory, as the Lord *Clarendon* terms it. Sir *William Waller*, having received great Reinforcements from *Briſtol* and other Garriſons, took the Field again, being now much ſuperiour to the Royaliſts; whereupon the King's Generals thought fit to throw their Foot into the Town of *Deviſes*, and fortified the Avenues to it, while Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis of *Hertford* retired to *Oxford* with the Horſe, in order to join a greater

Sir *Bevil Greenvil* killed.

greater Body there, and return to their Relief. A.D.1643 19 Car. I.

Waller thereupon immediately inveſted the *Deviſes*, and attacked the Town with great Fury; but was bravely repulſed, and obliged to keep his Diſtance till Advice was brought him, that the Lord *Wilmot*, at the Head of fifteen hundred Horſe, was marching with the utmoſt Diligence from *Oxford*, to the Relief of the beſieged; whereupon Sir *William* quitted the Siege, and marched with his Horſe to *Roundway-Down*, about two Miles from the *Deviſes*, to meet the Enemy, ordering his Foot to follow him; but *Wilmot* had the good Fortune to defeat the Rebels Horſe before the Infantry were come up, and their Foot being afterwards ſurrounded by the Cavalier Horſe and the Foot from the *Deviſes*, were almoſt all killed or taken Priſoners, tho' Sir *William Waller* had the good Fortune himſelf to eſcape out of the Battel, and get to *Briſtol*.

The Royaliſts defeat Sir *William Waller* at *Roundway-down* in *Wiltſhire*.

This Fight happened on the 13th of *July*, before the Earl of *Eſſex* had left his Quarters at *Thame*, which occaſioned *Waller* to complain that *Eſſex* deſigned to ſacrifice him; for tho' his Army lay within ten Miles of *Oxford*, he made no Motion to alarm the King's Army, or prevent their ſending ſo large a Detachment into the Weſt: The Earl, on the other hand, reproached Sir *William* with Want of Conduct, as well as Courage; ſuffering himſelf to be defeated by a handful of Men, deſerting his Foot, and abandoning his Cannon and Baggage without hazarding his Perſon, or charging once to ſave them; but whoever was in Fault, this Accident created ſuch a Difference between the chief Generals

Which occaſions a Difference between *Eſſex* and *Waller*.

*A.D.*1643 rals and Officers in the Rebels Army, as had like to have proved fatal to their Affairs.

19 *Car.* I. The Queen remained all this while at *York*, it not having been thought fit to hazard her Perſon in marching to *Oxford*, while the Enemy was ſuperior in the Field; but the King's Troops being now victorious every-where, ſhe was convoy'd by a Detachment of the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s Army to *Edghill*, where the King met her, the 13th of *July*, and conducted her to *Oxford*, after ſhe had been abſent from him about ſeventeen Months.

The Queen convoy'd to *Oxford*.

Briſtol ſurrender'd to the Royaliſts.

The next remarkable Action this Campaign was the Siege of *Briſtol*, which was inveſted by Prince *Rupert* and the Marquis of *Hertford*, on the 24th of *July*; who ſtorming the Town vigorouſly in ſix different Parts, before any Breach was made, the Governor, Colonel *Fiennes*, was ſo terrified, that he agreed to ſurrender the Place (the 26th) two Days afterwards, on the following Conditions, *viz.* that the Citizens ſhould not be moleſted in their Perſons, Goods, or Privileges; and that the Officers and Soldiers ſhould march out with their Swords and Baggage. But theſe Articles, it ſeems, were not duly obſerved; for the King's Soldiers, who had been plunder'd at *Reading*, contrary to the Articles of Capitulation made on the Surrender of that Place, retaliated the Injury both upon the Soldiers and Citizens of *Briſtol*, notwithſtanding Prince *Rupert*'s Endeavours to prevent it.

Some Perſons of Diſtinction killed in the ſtorming *Briſtol*.

In thoſe deſperate Attacks that were made on the City of *Briſtol*, before any Breaches made, ſeveral Officers and Gentlemen of Diſtinction in the King's Troops were killed; particularly, Colonel *Buck*, Major *Kendal*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *Trevannion*; the

the two laſt being Members of Parliament, and of great Reputation in the Weſt of *England*. Here alſo fell the brave Colonel *Lunſford*, and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Moyle*, Men of ſhining Characters; and the Lord Viſcount *Grandiſon* received a Wound, of which he died ſome time after, and of which every body apprehended he had been cured; but it proved mortal, according to Mr. *Echard*, by his cohabiting too ſoon with his Lady. He was a young Gentleman of ſo virtuous a Diſpoſition, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, that no Temptation could corrupt him. *A.D.* 1643 — 19 *Car.* I.

The Affairs of the Parliament being in a declining Condition, it was propoſed, by ſome of the Commons, to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to the *Scots*, to offer them ſuch advantagious Terms as ſhould induce them to march immediately to their Aſſiſtance; and, amongſt other Things, it was propoſed to give them the Northern Counties, as a Recompence for their Service: But when a Conference was held with the Lords on this Subject, and the Earl of *Rutland* and the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* were appointed to go on this Embaſſy with Sir *Henry Vane*, three other Commoners, and two Fanatick Preachers; the Noblemen refuſed to be concerned in any ſuch Treaty; and it was managed afterwards by the Commoners abovemention'd and the two Miniſters. This Invitation of Foreign Forces into the Kingdom (with which the Faction had formerly reproached the King) was generally deteſted: Scarce any, but thoſe whoſe notorious Guilt or ambitious Views determined them to reject a Peace on any Terms, were for this Expedient. The King therefore, being very well apprized of the Diſpoſition of the People, thought fit at this

The Rebels ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to the *Scots* to invite them to invade *England*.

*A.D.*1643 this time to publiſh a Declaration, in which
19 *Car.* I. he ſhew'd them, that notwithſtanding the Succeſs of his Arms, he was ready to pardon whatever was paſt; and ſhould always protect the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects; which they could never expect from thoſe who had uſurped his Authority, that were Enemies to the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and without any Colour of Law perſecuted the Clergy, and impoſed unſupportable Taxes and Exciſes on the People; impriſoning and murdering thoſe that would not come into their Meaſures. Theſe Men were not like to preſerve their Liberties and Properties any more than the Privileges of Parliament, from whence they had expell'd and impriſon'd great part of the Members, and transferred the whole Legiſlative Authority to an inconſiderable Committee. He required his Subjects therefore to return to their Duty, and no longer be impoſed on by factious and ambitious Men, who, under pretence of *Reformation*, would introduce whatever was monſtrous and unnatural both in Religion and Policy; and reduce them to the moſt inglorious kind of Slavery, that of Slaves to their Fellow-Subjects.

The Artifices of the Faction to prevent a Peace.

This Declaration had ſuch an Effect on the Houſe of Lords, that they moved, at a Conference with the Commons, for ſending his Majeſty Propoſitions of Peace, upon better Terms than had been hitherto offer'd him; which the Commons ſeemed for a while to comply with; but ſoon procured a Petition from their Faction in the City, reprſenting that the Lords Propopoſitions were deſtructive to their Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and deſiring an Ordinance might be paſſed for the vigorous Proſecution of the War. This the Rebel Lord Mayor

Mayor *Pennington* brought down to *Weſtminſter*, attended by ſeveral Thouſands of the Rabble, who threaten'd, that if they had not an Anſwer agreeable to their Expectations, they would be there next Day with twice the Number; at which the peaceable Members were ſo terrified, that they either quitted the Houſe, or joined with the Faction in declaring for War. A.D. 1643 / 19 Car. I.

Still there was a Majority of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens zealous for the Peace; but being deterred from petitioning themſelves, by the Fate of *Chaloner* and *Tomkins*, they ſuffer'd their Wives and Daughters to go down to the Houſe of Commons with a Petition for Peace. The Women, finding their Petition would not be accepted, ſtood at the Door, and in all the Avenues leading to the Houſe, crying out, *Peace, Peace:* Whereupon the Train'd-Bands were ordered to fire upon the Women if they did not diſperſe, and they actually ſhot ſeveral of them; but the Women ſtill cry'd out the louder, *Peace, Peace*; and ſome of them ſaid, *Give us thoſe Traytors who are againſt Peace, that we may tear them to pieces; give us that Dog* Pym. But, at length, a Body of Horſe being brought down, fell in amongſt theſe defenceleſs Females Sword in hand, and having maimed and wounded a great many of them (to their eternal Honour be it ſpoken) diſpers'd the reſt. And whoever had appear'd zealous for Peace in either Houſe, were look'd on as Promoters of this Tumult, and conſequently Delinquents: Whereupon many more left the Faction, and went over to the King at *Oxford*. But to return to the Armies:

The Women petition for a Peace.

Some of them murder'd by the Soldiers near the Parliament-Houſe.

His Majeſty being now every-where Maſter of the Field, Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of

*A.D.*1643 *Carnarvon* were order'd to march with part of the Army Weſtward, and inveſt *Dorcheſter*, while his Majeſty laid Siege to *Gloceſter*. It had been propoſed indeed, that the King ſhould join his Forces with thoſe of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and march immediately up to *London*, the Citizens ſhewing a great Diſpoſition to revolt from their new Maſters: But that Earl, 'tis ſaid, repreſented, that the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire* would not conſent to his leaving that County while *Hull* remained in the Hands of the Enemy; whereupon the Expedition to *London* was entirely laid aſide. Sir *Philip Warwick* however ſuggeſts, that this was but a Pretence of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s, to avoid joining his Majeſty, apprehending that he ſhould loſe much of his Authority by ſuch a Conjunction, and muſt be commanded by Prince *Rupert*. And ſome Hiſtorians do not ſcruple to aſcribe the Loſs of this happy Opportunity, and conſequently the Misfortunes which befel the King and Nation afterwards, to the Earl's Ambition; but I would by no means be thought to encourage ſuch a Surmiſe againſt one of the braveſt and moſt faithful of the King's Generals.

19 *Car.* I.

Dorcheſter and *Gloceſter* beſieged by the Royaliſts.

Certain it is, that while the King was unfortunately engaged in the Siege of *Gloceſter*, the Faction found Means to put their Affairs in ſuch a Poſture, as to become more formidable than ever; and the *Scots* had Time to form that Army which gave the deciding Blow in this War. In the mean time, the Parliament, or that ſmall Reſidue of them which remain'd at *London*, having abſolutely ſubdued all the Well-wiſhers to Peace in both Houſes and the City, applied themſelves, with all imaginable Diligence, to raiſe two new Armies; the one

The Faction raiſe two new Armies.

to

to be commanded by Sir *William Waller*, and the other by the Earl of *Manchester*. The Counties of *Essex*, *Hertford*, *Huntington* and *Cambridge*, were assign'd to the Earl, for levying the Army which was to serve under him; and Colonel *Oliver Cromwel*, Member of Parliament for *Cambridge*, was ordered to assist him in the levying and modelling this Army. *A D.* 1643 — 19 *Car.* I.

Cromwel was the Son of —— *Cromwel* of *Huntington*, by a Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward*; and, as I take it, his Father was a younger Branch of the Family of the celebrated *Cromwel* who was Vicegerent in the Reign of *Henry* VIII, and had so great a Share in the Reformation. As his Mother's Name is said to have inspired him with an Ambition to reign, so possibly he might have some View of imitating his great Ancestor *Cromwel*, in a farther Reformation of the Church. *Cromwel*, some Account of him.

He was some time a Student of *Sidney-College* in *Cambridge*, from whence he removed to *Lincolns-Inn*, one of the Inns of Court; but does not seem to have had a Genius for the Law, at least he made but little Proficiency in it; but, returning to *Huntington*, gave himself over to his Pleasures, and spent his paternal Estate; whereupon his Uncle and God-father, Sir *Oliver Cromwel*, from whom he had great Expectations, discarded him. And now being reduced to Straits, and associating himself with some Puritan Preachers, he fell into the contrary Extream, appearing more rigid and severe than the most zealous Reformers. He also began to manifest a great Tendency to Enthusiasm, delighting in the Company of such Men as pretended to Transports and Revelations; but the most distinguishing Part of his Character is said to be a

*A.D.*1643 radical Hypocriſy, which he cultivated with ſuch indefatigable Pains and Art, that his fu-
19 *Car.* I. ture Grandeur is generally aſcribed to this Talent, in which he excelled all the Hypocrites of that Age, when Hypocriſy was at the Height. He was choſen Member for *Cambridge* by the Recommendation of Mr. *Hampden*, whoſe Relation he married, and made at firſt no great Figure in the Houſe, but ſoon improved by the Converſation he met with there. He was not handſome, tho' he is ſaid to have had a majeſtick Mien and Preſence, and great perſonal Valour. His principal Inſtructors, it ſeems, were Mr. *Pym* and Mr. *Hampden*, the great Chiefs of the Faction, who knew how to mould and direct his bold enterprizing Spirit, ſo as to promote their Schemes; giving him to underſtand, that the readieſt way to recruit his broken Fortune was to purſue their Meaſures.

In the beginning of the War, *Cromwel* raiſed a Troop of Horſe for the Parliament; and obſerving his Commiſſion ran in the Name of the King and Parliament, he told his Soldiers, in plain Terms, *That they were notwithſtanding to fight againſt the King; and that he would as ſoon diſcharge his Piſtol at him as at a private Perſon; and if their Conſciences would not permit them to do the like, he deſired they would not liſt in his Troop.* *Cromwel*, having continued to act till this Time with the ſame Zeal he ſet out, received a Commiſſion from the Parliament to command a Regiment of a Thouſand Horſe, with which he ſecured the Town and County of *Cambridge*, with the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, for his Maſters; hindering all Levies for the King in thoſe Parts, and ruined his Majeſty's Deſign of

of a Counter-Association in those Counties. *Cromwel* afterwards marched into *Lincolnshire*, where he defeated the brave Colonel *Cavendish*, who died of the Wounds he received in that Engagement; but observing, that the King's Cavalry, being chiefly composed of Gentlemen and Men of Honour, were frequently superior to the Parliament Horse, he imagined, that if he could once inspire his Troops with a Belief, *That they fought in the Cause of God*, and, according to the Mahometan Doctrine, *That all that died in the Fanatick Cause would thereby purchase Seats in Paradise*, they would soon become equal, if not superior to their Enemies the Cavaliers. He made Choice of the greatest Zealots and Enthusiasts to serve under him, who despising, or rather coveting, Death in so glorious a Cause, became in a manner unconquerable; and by this Body of Men, with whom he sung Psalms, preach'd, pray'd, and encouraged in their furious Zeal and Transports, he raised himself to that pitch of Grandeur, that scarce any King of *England* ever arrived to. *A.D.* 1643 — 19 *Car.* I.

The Earl of *Essex*, finding other Generals employ'd by the Parliament, on whom they seemed to rely more than upon himself; and being given to understand, that his Masters were disgusted at the Disposition he had shewn towards Peace, and would shortly remove him if he did not recover their Favour again by some signal Service; not only promised a more unlimited Obedience for the future, and deserted those Lords who had engaged with him in pacifick Schemes, but declared he would vigorously carry on the War, and attempt to relieve *Gloucester* in Person. Whereupon several Lords, who had express'd a more than ordinary

The Earl of *Essex* devotes himself to the Faction.

*A.D.*1643 dinary Inclination to Peace, ſuſpecting that *Eſſex* had diſcovered their Deſigns, thought fit to withdraw from that Remnant of a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*; particularly the Earl of *Portland*, the Lord *Lovelace*, and Lord *Conway*, who went directly to the King at *Oxford*; and indeed the Lord *Clarendon* informs us, they were always in his Majeſty's Intereſt, and only remained with thoſe at *Weſtminſter* to do him Service; but beſides theſe, ſeveral others eſcaped into the King's Quarters, and deſired to be reſtored to Favour; as the Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland*; and the Earl of *Northumberland* retired to his Seat at *Petworth* in *Suſſex*, deſigning to continue there, till he ſaw what Reception the revolted Lords met with at *Oxford*.

19 *Car.* I.

Several Lords go over to the King at *Oxford*.

Another Inſtance of *Hamilton*'s Treachery.

About the ſame time, the Earl of *Montroſe* and the Lord *Ogilby* came from *Scotland*, and aſſured his Majeſty, that the *Scots* were upon the point of marching to the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Rebels, but the Marquis of *Hamilton* (lately created a Duke) ſtill poſitively affirming, that his Majeſty had nothing to fear from thence, this important Diſcovery of the Marquis of *Montroſe* was not attended to, as it ought.

The Faction declare their Intentions to cut off the King and Royal Family.

The Faction at *London*, having now got rid of moſt of the Members in both Houſes, who had ſhewn any Diſpoſition to Peace and Moderation, proceeded with more Violence than ever. A Book was publiſhed by *Saltmarſh*, a Puritan Father, declaring againſt any Accomodation between the King and his People, and adviſing the Faction to cheriſh the War under the Notion of Popery, as the moſt effectual means to engage the People on their Side; and laſtly, if the King

King refuſed to yield to their Demands, *to root him out with the whole Royal Line, and ſettle the Crown in another Family*; which tending to alarm the People, and diſcover the real Deſigns of the Faction, was propoſed to be cenſured by ſome of the Members of the Commons; but the infamous *Harry Martin* ſtood up, and ſaid he ſaw no Reaſon to condemn *Saltmarſh* the Author; for that *it were better one Family were deſtroyed than many*; and, when he was called upon to explain what Family he meant, impudently anſwer'd, *the King and his Children:* but Matters not being yet ripe for countenancing ſuch a Declaration, *Martin* was ſent to the *Tower*, tho' he was releaſed not long after, and ſuffer'd to take his Place again among his Brethren, without any further Cenſure or Puniſhment. About the ſame time, Sir *John Conyers* laying down his Place of Lieutenant of the *Tower*, it was conferred by the Faction on *Pennington*, the Rebel Lord-Mayor, which the Parliament pretended was to expreſs their Confidence in the City; tho' the true Reaſon was, that *Pennington* was much more devoted to their Intereſt, and more able to ſerve them in the City, than any other Man they could pitch upon.

A.D. 1643
19 Car. I.

Pennington, the Rebel Lord-Mayor, made Governor of the *Tower*.

And now the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army being reinforced by ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot, that had been raiſed by the City, he began his March from *London*, in order to relieve *Gloceſter*, the latter end of *Auguſt*; and approaching that City, the King's Army thought fit to abandon their Works, and retire at a moſt critical Juncture, when the beſieged had not above one Barrel of Powder left. The Governor, Colonel *Maſſy*, defend-

Gloceſter relieved by the Earl of *Eſſex*.

ed

*A.D.*1643 ed the Place to the last Extremity, and, by the obstinate Resistance he made, very much changed the Face of the War. The Parliament had time to encrease their Forces, while the King's were wasted in a fruitless Siege, and lost the Superiority they had hitherto maintained: However, Prince *Rupert* exceedingly harrassed *Essex*'s Forces in their March; and the King's whole Army coming up with the Rebels in their Return towards *London*, at *Newbury*, on the 20th Day of *September*, there was fought one of the most obstinate Battels that had happen'd during the War, the Armies being engaged from Six o'Clock in the Morning till late at Night, without any considerable Advantage on either Side. Indeed *Essex*, wanting all manner of Necessaries, was forced to continue his March towards *London* the next Day; and the King's Horse falling upon his Rear, great Numbers of his Men were killed and taken Prisoners, and the Town of *Reading* was again possessed by the King, which made the Royalists look upon it as a complete Victory, while the Parliament on the other hand were satisfied, that their General had effected the Business he went about (the Relief of *Glocester*) and was safely returned to them, with the Bulk of his Army: Whereupon they also thought fit to keep a Day of Thanksgiving, as for a Victory. Thus Heaven was usually thanked by both Parties, on which Side soever the Victory lay. On the King's Part, the Lord *Clarendon* observes, they had great Reason to mourn for the Loss of some of the most accomplished Noblemen in the Kingdom, who fell in this Encounter; as, *Henry* Earl of *Sunderland*, *Robert Dormer*, Earl

19 *Car.* I.

The Battle of *Newbury*.

Earl of *Carnarvon*, and *Lucius Cary*, Lord Viſcount *Falkland*; the laſt of whom the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, if there were no other Brand upon this odious and accurſed Civil-War than that ſingle Loſs, it muſt be infamous and execrable to all Poſterity. *A.D.*1643 19 *Car.* I. Several Noblemen killed.

While the War was carried on with this fierceneſs in *England*, *Ireland* was miſerably neglected, the Parliament having employed the Supplies appropriated for that Service to ſupport their own Rebellion. The Earl of *Ormond*, the King's General, had indeed hitherto made Head againſt the Rebels there; but finding no probability of being ſupported from *England*, by the King's Permiſſion, agreed to a Ceſſation of Arms for one Year, as the only Means to prevent the Ruin of the reſt of the *Engliſh* in that Iſland, at which the Faction exclaimed louder than ever, inſinuating, that the King was making Peace with the *Iriſh* Papiſts, in order to make uſe of their Aſſiſtance in ſubduing his Proteſtant Subjects of the three Kingdoms, which they had the Cunning to make many of the deluded People give credit to, and thereby extreamly prejudiced the Royal Cauſe. A Ceſſation of Arms in *Ireland*.

In the mean time the Earls of *Holland*, *Bedford*, and *Clare*, finding they were never like to be admitted into the King's Confidence, tho' they were treated outwardly with Reſpect; and obſerving, that the Affairs of the Parliament began to have a better Aſpect, left *Oxford* privately, and return'd to *London*, where they were ſuffered to live and enjoy their Eſtates; but were never afterwards truſted with any Command, their repeated The Earls of *Holland*, *Bedford* and *Clare*, deſert the King again, and return to the Rebels.

*A.D.*1643 Revolts rendring them ſuſpected and contemptible to all Mankind.

19 *Car.* I.

The reaſon of this unſteady Conduct in Men, who were not governed either by Principles of Honour or Religion, but ſtudied only their own Eaſe or Intereſt, was the Suſpence Things were yet in, no one being able to diſcern which Side was like to prevail; but the Alliance that was concluded ſoon after between the Faction in *England*, and the Preſbyterians of *Scotland*, ſeems to have given the Rebels an apparent Advantage; the Committee deputed to *Scotland* by the Parliament (of which Sir *Henry Vane* the younger was the chief) ſigned an Agreement with the *Scots*, that was afterwards ſtyled *The ſolemn League and Covenant*; whereby both Parties ſtipulated to deſtroy Epiſcopacy and the Church of *England*; and to eſtabliſh ſuch a Form of Worſhip and Diſcipline in the three Kingdoms, as ſhould be *moſt agreeable to the Word of God*, by which the *Scots* Preſbyterians meant their own Superſtition: But Sir *Henry Vane* and his Aſſociates, 'tis ſaid, intended no ſuch thing, but had a View to Independency: However, they did not think fit to explain themſelves at this time, leſt the *Scots*, who adored Preſbytery, ſhould delay coming to their Aſſiſtance; and as few People were agreed what Worſhip was *moſt agreeable to the Word of God*, there would be room enough, they thought, afterwards to reject the Preſbyterian Scheme: Both Sides however were determined to deſtroy the eſtabliſhed Church, and the King, whom they looked upon as the Protector of it; being conſcious his Majeſty would not ſuffer ſuch an Alteration of Religion, till he ſhould be entirely

The ſolemn League and Covenant agreed on between the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Preſbyterians.

entirely diveſted of his Regal Power. And tho' one great Inducement to the *Scots* to turn Rebels again, and break all their Promiſes and Compacts with the King (who had indulged them in every thing they could aſk, and conferred Honours, Places, and Eſtates, on their principal Leaders, when he was laſt in *Scotland*) was the Proſpect of eſtabliſhing their Idol Preſbytery; yet the Views they had to the Plunder of *England*, and the Rewards promiſed them by the Faction at *Weſtminſter*, were no ſmall Motives to their breaking through all Obligations of Loyalty, Honour, and Gratitude, and flying in the Face of their Soveraign, to whom they were ſo infinitely obliged; for we find they refuſed to ſtir, till an hundred thouſand Pounds were paid them in hand by the *Engliſh* Rebels, and large Promiſes made them of future Gratuities; and then it is obſervable, the principal Nobility of that Kingdom embarked in the Enterpriſe, and many of them had Commands in their Army, of which the infamous *Leſly*, Earl of *Leven*, the General was one: A Man, who had not only promiſed his Majeſty that he would never bear Arms againſt him any more, when the King made him Earl of *Leven*, but vow'd for the future to ſerve his Majeſty without reſerve: But before I proceed to give an Account of the Conjunction of the *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Rebels, it will be neceſſary to take notice of ſeveral conſiderable Actions that happened in *England* in the mean time. *A.D.* 1643 — 19 *Car.* I.

In the Weſt of *England*, the Royaliſts made themſelves Maſters of *Exeter*, *Barnſtable*, *Bidiford*, *Dorcheſter*, and *Dartmouth*, in the Months of *September* and *October*: And *Exeter*, &c. taken by the Royaliſts.

A.D. 1643. 19 *Car.* I. Sir *Alexander Carew* had formed a Deſign of delivering up *Plymouth* to the King's Forces; but heſitating too long, the Project was diſcovered, Sir *Alexander* was apprehended, and ſent to *London*, where he was afterwards executed by the Rebels for this Attempt to make the King Satisfaction for his former Tranſgreſſions.

The Royaliſts have ill Succeſs in the North.

The King was leſs ſucceſsful in the North, where the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, inveſting *Hull* on the 2d of *September*, the Governor laid all the neighbouring Country under Water, which created a Sickneſs in the Marquis's Army, that carried off great Part of it; and, to add to the Misfortune, the Earl of *Manchester*, aſſiſted by that eminent Impoſtor Colonel *Cromwel*, defeated the King's Forces on the 11th of *October*, near *Horncaſtle* in *Lincolnſhire*, killing five hundred on the Spot, and taking near two thouſand Priſoners; whereupon the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* raiſed the Siege of *Hull* the next Day, and *Lincoln*, *Gainsborough*, and *Bolingbroke-Caſtle* ſurrender'd to the Rebels.

The Fight of *Horncaſtle*.

Cromwel imitates *Mahomet*.

This Victory at *Horncaſtle* was principally owing to the Fury of *Cromwel* and the Zealots he commanded. Like *Mahomet*, this Fanatick pretended to Viſions and Revelations from Heaven, aſſuring his Diſciples, that Victory, Wealth and Empire, would be the Fruits of their Bravery in this World; or, if they died in Battel, Paradiſe in the next; which induced them to charge with the utmoſt Intrepidity and Contempt of Danger: Their Leader however eſcaped very narrowly with his Life in this Engagement, his Horſe being killed under him, and himſelf afterwards knock'd down by the Gentleman that charged him;

him; but being at length remounted, he charged the Royaliſts again, put them to the Rout, and had the Purſuit of them for ſeveral Miles. *A.D.*1643 19 *Car.* I.

In the mean time the Faction at *London* were buſied in taking the Covenant, and impoſing it on all Men under their Power; and, being aſſured of the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, carried their Uſurpation to a greater Height than ever; for they paſs'd an Ordinance, That all the King's Letters Patents, and Grants, made ſince *May* 1642, ſhould be of no Force; and made a new Broad Seal of their own, for ſealing Patents and Acts of State, and gave the Cuſtody of it to the Earls of *Bolingbroke* and *Kent*, Mr. *St. John*, Serjeant *Wild*, Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *Prideaux*, whom they conſtituted Commiſſioners of the Great Seal. They proceeded to authoriſe the infamous *Harry Martin* to ſeize the Crown, Scepter, and other *Regalia*, and plunder *Weſtminſter-Abby* of all the Church-Plate, Ornaments, and Utenſils; of which ſacrilegious Office the Wretch was extremely proud; and, when one aſked him if he would not leave one Cup for the Communion, anſwered, a wooden Diſh would do full as well; nay, he cloathed a Buffoon in the Royal Robes, placed the Crown on his Head, and put the Scepter in his Hand, and then expoſed him to the Laughter of his Brethren the Fanaticks, telling them, there would be no further Uſe for theſe Trifles: But nothing ſhewed the Inſolence of the Faction more than their hanging up Mr. *Kniveton*, whom the King had ſent with a Writ to the Judges, to command them to adjourn the Term to *Oxford*.

The Parliament and all under their Power take the Covenant.

They make a new Broad Seal.

Seize the *Regalia* and Communion Plate in *Weſtminſter Abby*.

They hang up one of the K's Meſſengers.

About

*A.D.*1643 19 *Car.* I.

About the same time, they brought Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes* to a Tryal before a Council of War for Cowardise, in surrendering *Bristol*, when he might have held out longer; and he was condemn'd to lose his Head, which Proceeding the Reader will find at large in the last Volumes of State Tryals that were publish'd; but *Fiennes*, having always shewn great Zeal for the Cause, and the Lord *Say*, his Father, being one of the King's most inveterate Enemies, the Colonel was pardoned, and went abroad, not caring to remain at home under the Imputation of Cowardice, tho' he continued as unshaken in his rebellious Principles as ever. I shall conclude this Year with a List of some of the most eminent Noblemen and Cavaliers that died this Campaign in the Service of their King and Country (several of whom have however been mentioned already;) *viz.* the Earls of *Northampton*, *Denbigh*, *Carnarvon*, *Sunderland*, and *Kingston*; the Lords *Falkland*, *Brook*, and *Grandison*; the honourable Colonel *Charles Cavendish*, Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, Sir *George Bowles*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, Colonel *Trevannion*, Colonel *Chudleigh*, and Major *Sheldon*; and on the other side, died that infamous Rebel and Incendiary *John Pym*, on the 8th of *December*, who, from the Influence he had obtained over the deluded People, was frequently styled *King Pym*: This Gentleman died in his Bed, but his celebrated Associate *Hambden* in the Field, as has been related already.

Colonel *Fiennes* condemned for Cowardise.

Several Noblemen &c. killed in the K's Service.

Pym the Incendiary dies.

A.D. 1644

The *Scots* having formed their Army, and being ready to march to *England*, several of the Nobility of that Nation in the King's Interest

Intereſt repaired to the Court at *Oxford*, and inform'd his Majeſty how he had been betrayed by Duke *Hamilton*, and his Brother *Lanrick*, who was truſted with the King's Signet, and ſuffered it to be put to the Rebels Proclamation for raiſing their Forces: However, the two Brothers, not doubting but they ſhould ſtill be able to abuſe his Majeſty's Goodneſs, by pretending to an inviolable Loyalty, had the Aſſurance alſo to appear at *Oxford*; but the King was now ſo fully convinced of their treacherous Arts, that he ordered them both to be made Priſoners, before they were admitted to his Preſence; and the Duke was ſent Priſoner to *Pendennis-Caſtle*, but his Brother *Lanrick*, by the Connivance of ſome of the King's Servants, made his Eſcape to the Rebels at *London*. *A.D.* 1644 — 19 *Car.* I. Duke *Hamilton* impriſon'd.

In the mean time, the *Scotiſh* Army conſiſting of eighteen thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, commanded by General *Leſly* Earl of *Leven*, paſſed the River *Tweed* at *Berwick*, on the 15th of *January* in a ſevere Winter, wherein their Troops ſuffered very much, and were ſo obſtructed in their March by the Badneſs of the Weather, and the frequent Attacks of Sir *Thomas Glemham*, who commanded the King's Forces in thoſe Parts, that they did not come before *Newcaſtle* till the 3d of *February*, when they ſummoned the Town to ſurrender, which being ſlighted by the Garriſon, after the *Scots* had lain about three Weeks in the Neighbourhood of *Newcaſtle*, without daring to beſiege it in form, they advanced into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, where they were ſo harraſs'd by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and their Proviſions cut off, that they had been in Danger of The *Scotiſh* Rebels march into *England*.

*A.D.*1644 of periſhing, if a Detachment of the *Engliſh* Rebels had not found means to join them, and facilitate their March into *Yorkſhire*.

19 *Car.* I.

The Royaliſts defeated by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* near *Nantwich*.

While the *Scots* remained about *Newcaſtle*, the Lord *Byron* was engaged in the Siege of *Nantwich*, in *Cheſhire*, which was upon the Point of ſurrendring, when Sir *Thomas Fairfax* marched to the Relief of that Place out of *Lincolnſhire*, with ſuch incredible Expedition, that he came upon the Beſiegers, on the 25th of *January*, at a time when they did not expect the Enemy was near them, and a Thaw happening the ſame Night ſo ſwelled a Brook that divided the King's Forces, as made it impracticable for them to unite in their Defence. Whereupon the greateſt Part of the Beſiegers were killed or taken Priſoners, with all their Cannon and Baggage, and the Lord *Byron*, with the reſt of his Forces, retired to *Cheſter*.

Prince *Rupert* raiſes the Siege of *Newark*.

On the other hand, the Rebels having laid Siege to *Newark*, a Town of great conſequence, as it preſerved the Communication between *York* and *Oxford*, Prince *Rupert* was order'd to march to the Relief of it; in which Enterprize the Prince was ſo ſucceſsful, that on the 22d of *March*, he fell upon the Beſiegers and obliged them to lay down their Arms, and deliver up all their Cannon and Baggage; and the Parliament Generals were in ſuch a Conſternation, that they ſoon after abandoned *Lincoln*, *Gainsborough* and *Sleaford*.

The King ſome time before this, to manifeſt to the *Scots* that the Faction at *Weſtminſter*, with whom they were confederated, had no Pretence to aſſume to themſelves the Title of *The Parliament of England*, ordered a Let-

Letter to be written to the Council of State in *Scotland*, and subscribed by all the Peers at *Oxford*, disavowing all those Actions done by the pretended Authority of the two Houses; whereby it appeared, that five Parts in six of the Nobility and House of Lords were in the King's Interest.

A.D. 1644
20 *Car.* I.

A Letter to the *Scots* to shew them that the Faction at *Westminster* were no Parliament.

His Majesty also had issued out a Proclamation, requiring all the Peers and Members of the Commons, who had left the Parliament at *Westminster*, to appear at *Oxford* on the 22d of *January*: Whereupon there resorted thither forty-four Lords, and one hundred and seventeen Commoners (many more being necessarily absent upon Commands they had in his Majesty's Armies. These being assembled as a Parliament in the Hall of *Christ-Church*, the King made them a Speech as usual at the Opening of those Assemblies; wherein he acquainted them, that he had summoned them thither, to advise him what was proper to be done in the distracted Condition the Kingdom was in.

The Members at *Oxford* summoned to meet at *Oxford*.

Each House being retired to the respective Places assigned them, *viz.* the Lords to the upper Schools, and the Commons to the Convocation House; it was agreed at a Conference, that further Overtures should be made to the Members at *Westminster* for an Accommodation: And, as the Faction had prohibited all Application to them from his Majesty, but by their General, the Earl of *Essex*; it was agreed to write a Letter to that General, that he would be an Instrument to dispose the Members at *Westminster* to set on Foot a Treaty of Peace: But, as the Faction were not in this Letter styl'd *the Parliament*, this was deemed a sufficient Reason to reject all

A.D. 1644 — 19 *Car.* I.

Overtures of Accommodation: And the Lords and Commons at *Oxford* became fully convinced, that the only Way to put an End to the War, was by exerting themſelves in his Majeſty's Service, and endeavouring to gain a Superiority over the Enemy in the Field.

Supplies raiſed for his Majeſty's Uſe by *Evans*.

In order therefore to ſupply his Majeſty's Army, it was reſolved by them, that a Letter ſhould be framed, and ſent to ſuch Perſons as were ſuppoſed to have Money by them, to lend his Majeſty what they could ſpare, which was ſigned by the Speakers of both Houſes; and the Lords and Commons ſubſcribing liberally, as an Example to the reſt, a good Sum was brought in; but, as this was not ſufficient to ſupply all his Majeſty's Neceſſities, it was further reſolved, in imitation of the Members at *Weſtminſter*, to lay an Exciſe upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and other Liquors drunk in Towns and Places in his Majeſty's Power.

And by an Exciſe, firſt practiſed by the Rebels.

The Fight of *Cherryton-Down*.

While the *Oxford* Parliament were ſitting, there happened an Engagement between the Lord *Hopton*, and Sir *William Waller*, on the 29th of *March*, on *Cherryton-Down* near *Wincheſter*; in which the Lord *Hopton* was defeated, but made good his Retreat however to *Reading*, with his Cannon and Baggage. This is ſaid to be the firſt Encounter, where the Rebels Horſe appeared an equal Match for the Cavaliers; at leaſt the King's Cavalry never behaved themſelves ſo ill, as in this Battle.

Reſolutions of the Parliament of *England* againſt the *Scots*.

The *Oxford* Parliament in the mean time reſolved and declared, That the *Scots* had broken the Act of Pacification made between the two Kingdoms, and that all who joined them were Traytors and Rebels; that the

Lords

Lords and Commons, who remained at *Weſtminſter*, were guilty of High-Treaſon, in levying War againſt the King, in counterfeiting the Great Seal, and calling in the *Scots* to invade the Kingdom; that they had thereby broken the Truſt repoſed in them by their Country, and ought to be proceeded againſt as Traytors and Rebels; eſpecially, as they had refuſed all Offers of Peace made them by his Majeſty, with the Advice of the Lords and Commons aſſembled at *Oxford*: And on the 16th of *April*, the King diſmiſs'd his Parliament, in order to prepare for the enſuing Campaign, having firſt ſent away the Queen, who was near her Time, to *Exeter*, that ſhe might enjoy more Quiet, than could be expected in his head Quarters at *Oxford*.

*A.D.*1644 — 20 *Car.* I.

Againſt the Faction at *Weſtminſter*.

The Q. goes to *Exeter*.

The Marquis of *Newcaſtle* had been all this while harraſſing the *Scotiſh* Army in the North, and ſo cut off their Proviſions from time to time, that many of them periſhed, and their whole Army was in great Danger of being ruined; which their Friends at *Weſtminſter* receiving Advice of, ordered Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the reſt of their Generals on that Side, to endeavour to join them at all hazards, well knowing that the Defeat of the *Scots* at this Juncture would be the Ruin of their Affairs. Sir *Thomas* was ſo happy in executing the Orders of his Maſters, that he entirely defeated Colonel *Bellaſis*, Governor of *York*, who had aſſembled a Body of Forces to prevent his Conjunction, and took the Governor Priſoner, with ſixteen hundred of his Men, on the 23d of *April*, near *Selby*; and the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, finding himſelf upon the Point of being ſurrounded by the *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Rebels,

The *Engliſh* and *Scots* Rebels join.

The Governor of *York* defeated and taken Priſoner.

A.D. 1644 retired to *York*, where he was beſieged by three ſeveral Armies the latter End of *April*, (*viz.*) that commanded by the Lord *Fairfax*, the *Scotiſh* Army under the Earl of *Leven*, and the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s.

20 *Car.* I.

York beſieged.

Relieved by Prince *Rupert*.

The King, in order to ſave *York* and the brave Army that defended it, ordered Prince *Rupert* to march to the Relief of that City; who, having juſt made himſelf Maſter of *Bolton*, *Liverpool*, and ſeveral other Places in *Lancaſhire*, obeyed the Orders he had received, and entered *York* in a triumphant Manner the 2d of *July*, the Enemy having quitted their Approaches; and not content with this, he marched to find them out the ſame Day, and give them Battel: He came up with the Rebels in a Field on the South-ſide of *Marſton-Moor*, about four Miles from *York*, where they were drawn up, in order to receive him. The Lord *Fairfax* and his Son commanded the Right Wing of the Rebels, the Earl of *Mancheſter* the Left, and the Earl of *Leven* with the *Scots*, were in the Centre; their whole Body amounting to about thirty thouſand Men.

The Battel of *Marſton-Moor*.

The Prince, whoſe Army conſiſted of about twenty-four thouſand Men, alſo formed them into three Diviſions; the Left he commanded in Perſon, the Right was given to the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, and the Center, which encounter'd the *Scots*, was led by the Lord *Goring*; the Cannon began to play about three in the Afternoon, but the Battle was not entirely joined till ſeven in the Evening. The Prince on his Wing carried all before him, and obliged *Fairfax* to quit the Field. *Goring* had equal Succeſs againſt the *Scots*, and *Mancheſter*'s Wing was put into ſome Confuſion; but the Royaliſts continuing the

Chac

Chace too far, or being buſied in plundering the Enemy, before the Victory was compleat, *Cromwel*, who commanded a great Reſerve of religious Mad-men, fell upon the Royaliſts, who were diſperſed with that Fury, that he raviſhed the Victory out of their Hands; and the reſt of the Rebels rallying again, they killed near ten thouſand of the Royaliſts upon the Spot, and took all their Cannon, Ammunition and Baggage. Whereupon the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, looking upon the King's Affairs as deſperate, embarked for *Holland*, and Prince *Rupert* retired with the Remains of his Horſe towards *Cheſter*. The Rebels, immediately after, ſat down before *York*; and the Governor, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, having but a thin Garriſon, and no Hopes of Relief, ſurrendered on the 16th of *July*, on honourable Terms. In the Battle of *Marſton-Moor* were killed the Lord *Cary*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Monmouth*, and Sir *Thomas Methuen*; and Lieutenant-General *Lucas*, Major-General *Tilyard*, and the Lord *Goring*'s Son, were made Priſoners.

A.D. 1644 — 20 *Car.* I.

The Royaliſts routed.

The Marquis of *Newcaſtle* goes beyond Sea.

York ſurrenders to the Rebels.

After the taking of *York*, the three Armies of the Rebels divided; the Lord *Fairfax* remained at *York*; the Earl of *Mancheſter* returned into *Lincolnſhire*, and reduced ſeveral Places that held out for the King while the *Scots* marched Northwards, and having joined a Reinforcement of ten thouſand of their Countrymen, laid Siege to *Newcaſtle*, which held out however till the latter end of *October*. But to return to the King at *Oxford*:

His Majeſty having detached the greateſt Part of his Army, under the Command of Prince

*A.D.*1644 Prince *Rupert*, towards the North, in order
20 *Car.* I. to reduce *Liverpool*, and ſome other Places of conſequence in *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire* (which the Prince effected) and afterwards order'd him to attempt the Relief of *York*, as has been related already. The Parliament commanded their Generals *Eſſex* and *Waller* to form the Siege of *Oxford*, propoſing thereby to get the King into their Power, and put a ſpeedy End to the War; but his Majeſty, being appriſed of their Intentions, left *Oxford*, with a flying Party of Horſe, before the Town was entirely inveſted, and retired to the Confines of *Wales*; which the two Generals no ſooner received Advice of, but they quitted the Neighbourhood of *Oxford*; and, dividing their Forces, *Waller* marched in purſuit of the King, while *Eſſex* moved Weſtward, in hopes of reducing that Part of *England*, under the Obedience of his Maſters, in a ſhort time.

The King leaves Oxford, and goes to Wales.

The King, being informed that *Eſſex* and *Waller* were now at too great a Diſtance to join their Forces, and having gained two Days March of *Waller*, returned with all imaginable Expedition to *Oxford*, whither *Waller* alſo followed him; but the Forces his Majeſty brought with him, joining with thoſe already at *Oxford*, and being now equal, if not ſuperior, to *Waller*'s Army, his Majeſty marched out of that City, determining to give him Battle; and engaging the Enemy at *Cropredy-Bridge*, on the 29th of *June*, entirely defeated him; inſomuch that *Waller* was obliged to return to *London*, to recruit his ſhatter'd Troops.

Waller defeated by the King at Cropredy-Bridge.

In the mean time, *Eſſex* approached the City of *Exeter*, where the Queen, having been

been brought to Bed of her youngeſt Daughter the Princeſs *Henrietta* (on the 16th of *June*) and not yet in a Condition to move from thence, ſent a Trumpet to that General, to deſire him to forbear all Acts of Hoſtility againſt that City, till ſhe was recovered, which he refuſed to gratify her in; her Majeſty then deſired his Safe-conduct to go to *Bath* or *Briſtol*; but this alſo he brutiſhly denied: Whereupon the Queen, getting out of the Town as ſoon as ſhe could, retired into *Cornwal*, and, taking Shipping at *Falmouth*, the 14th of *July*, arrived ſafe at *Breſt*, tho' ſhe was in great Danger from one of the Rebels Ships, which fired ſeveral Shots at her, and occaſioned a Foreigner to ſay, *The Parliament were the only People that made War upon the Ladies.* *A.D.*1644 20 *Car.* I.

The Q. forced to embark for *France*, with the Princeſs *Henrietta* a Newborn Infant.

The King, not knowing of the Queen's Eſcape from *Exeter*, reſolved to march with the utmoſt Diligence to her Relief; but underſtanding, on his Arrival at *Bath*, that her Majeſty was retired into *Cornwal*, and that *Eſſex* was alſo gone that Way, he ſtrengthen'd his Army with Reinforcements from *Briſtol*, and continued in purſuit of the Enemy, whom he found at *Foy*, near the Sea-ſide in *Cornwal*; where his Majeſty ſo hemmed in the Rebels, and preſſed them on all Sides, that they were in danger of ſtarving.

The King marches after *Eſſex* into *Cornwal*.

While *Eſſex* was in this miſerable Condition, the King offered him his Pardon, and almoſt any Terms he could aſk; but that General ſtill obſtinately refuſed to return to his Duty, or even enter into any Treaty with his Majeſty; for which he would probably have paid very dear, if there had not at this time happened ſome Differences between the

*A.D.*1644 — 20 *Car.* I.

the Generals and principal Officers of the King's Army; which proceeded to that Height, that *Wilmot*, General of the Horſe, was diſmiſs'd, and tranſported himſelf to *France*, the Lord *Goring* being made General of the Horſe in his room: And before theſe Diſſenſions were fully heal'd, the Enemy's Horſe, commanded by *Balfour*, paſs'd by the King's Army in a very dark Night, and marched for *London*, with the Loſs only of ſome few Men, who were killed and taken the next Morning by the Earl of *Cleveland*'s Brigade that charged their Rear. But how fortunate ſoever the Rebels Horſe were in making their Eſcape, the Foot were attack'd with ſuch Vigour by his Majeſty next Morning, that *Eſſex* ſent to deſire a Parley; and, before he ſaw what Terms his Troops were like to have, he got on board a Ship with the Lord *Roberts* and ſome of the principal Officers, leaving *Skippon* and his Infantry to get the beſt Conditions they could: Whereupon the Rebels were compelled to deliver up their Cannon, Ammunition, and ſmall Arms, to obtain their Liberty, and many of them liſted in his Majeſty's Service; not a third part of them arriving at *Southampton*, whither they were to be convoyed.

His Foot compelled to lay down their Arms, *Eſſex* himſelf embarking for *London*.

The King, having thus diſperſed *Eſſex*'s Army, returned to *Salisbury*; where underſtanding that *Donnington-Caſtle* near *Newbury* and *Banbury* were both beſieged by the Rebels, he marched to the Relief of *Donnington*, and quartering his Forces in and about that Town, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who commanded the Siege, thought fit to draw off his Troops from *Donnington*; and thereupon the King ſent the Earl of *Northampton* with

with a Detachment of three thouſand Men to the Relief of *Banbury*, which was alſo happily effected: But the Earl of *Mancheſter*, receiving Intelligence that the King's Army did not now amount to more than eight or nine thouſand Men, aſſembled a Body of eight thouſand Horſe, and an equal Number of Foot, and attacked his Majeſty on the 27th Day of *October*, in his Quarters at *Newbury*; in which he received conſiderable Aſſiſtance from Colonel *Hurry* the *Scot*, formerly mentioned, who had lately deſerted again to the Rebels: The King's Forces however defended themſelves for three Days with great Reſolution, and the Enemy loſt abundance of Men at their ſeveral Attacks; but on the third Night, the King, having ſecured his Artillery and Baggage in *Donnington-Caſtle*, thought fit to abandon *Newbury*, and march to *Oxford*, which he did without the leaſt Interruption from the Rebels, who looked upon the King's Retreat however as an Evidence of their Victory, and immediately renew'd the Siege of *Donnington-Caſtle*; but the King, having joined Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Northampton*, compelled the Enemy to raiſe the Siege a ſecond time, within eight Days after they ſat down before it; and the Rebels avoiding coming to a general Battel, his Majeſty drew off all the Cannon he had left in *Donnington-Caſtle* on the 9th of *November*, and returning to *Oxford*, ſent his Army into Winter-Quarters.

A.D. 1644
20 *Car.* I.

The ſecond Battel of *Newbury*.

The Rebel *Scots*, having ſent moſt of their Forces to the Aſſiſtance of their Brethren in Iniquity in *England*; the Marquis of *Montroſe* took this Opportunity of aſſembling the King's Friends there, and having gained ſeveral

The Marquis of *Montroſe* reduces great Part of *Scotland* for the King.

*A.D.*1644 veral Advantages over the Faction, became
20 *Car.* I. in a manner Master of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*; of whose Successes I shall speak further hereafter, and proceed now to take notice of such Transactions as happened at *London* during the Winter, where we find the Differences between the Presbyterians and Independants carried to a very great Height: Neither the Earls of *Essex* or *Manchester*, or even Sir *William Waller*, it seems, were at this time at all acceptable to the furious Party among the Commons; *Cromwel* their Darling, Lieutenant-General and the Head of the Independants, began now to give evident Tokens of his Ambition: He had the Assurance to accuse his General, the Earl of *Manchester*, of betraying the Cause, in suffering the King to march off with his Cannon from *Newbury* unmolested, when he had offered to charge the Royalists in the Rear with his own Brigade; and affirm'd, the Earl gave this Reason for his Conduct, that if the Parliament Army was beaten, *they would be all condemned as Rebels and Traytors by the Laws of the Land:* To which the Earl replied by way of Recrimination, that *Cromwel* had offered, *if he would stick by the Army, to put him in a way to give Law both to the King and Parliament.* These Contests between the Generals, occasioned great Feuds both in the Parliament and the City; but *Cromwel* and the Independants at length carried all before them, by introducing the *self-denying Ordinance*, as it was called; whereby, no Member of Parliament was to have any Post, either in the State or Army. By this Artifice, all the Presbyterians in both Houses were turned out of Commission, and succeeded by the

Difference between the Earl of *Manchester* and *Cromwel.*

The self-denying Ordinance introduced.

the Independants, while *Cromwel* had the Addreſs to get himſelf continued, under pretence of the Neceſſity there was of making him an Exception to the general Rule. A.D.1644 20 Car. I.

Neither the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, who reſided at *London* to regulate all Matters with the Committee of the Parliament of *England*, in relation to Peace and War, or the *Engliſh* Preſbyterians, were ignorant of the ambitious Views of *Cromwel*, *Vane*, and the leading Independants; but found they had gained ſuch a Superiority in the Army, that it was in vain to oppoſe them; they plainly foreſaw, that the Preſbyterian Model, for the Eſtabliſhment of which they had become Rebels to their Prince, and thrown the three Kingdoms into Blood and Confuſion, would in the End be forced to give Place to Independancy: Seeing no Way therefore to prevent their impending Ruin, but by a Peace; they let his Majeſty know, that if he would propoſe a Time and Place for a Treaty, they ſhould not be averſe to it: And a Treaty was accordingly ſet on Foot between the King's Commiſſioners on one Side, and Commiſſioners from the two Houſes and the *Scots* on the other, on the 30th of *January* following: But before I proceed to relate the Event of this Treaty, it will be neceſſary to take notice of ſome Tranſactions that happened in the mean time; particularly of the Execution of Sir *Alexander Carew*, on the 23d of *December* at *London*, for endeavouring to deliver up *Plymouth* to the Royaliſts; and of the two *Hothams*, Father and Son, on 1ſt and 2d of *January*, for promiſing to make Amends for their Rebellion by their future Loyalty. But the greateſt Sacrifice in which both Preſbyterians and

Oppoſed in vain by the Preſbyterians.

Sir *Alexander Carew* executed.

The two *Hothams*.

A. 1644-5 Independants, *Engliſh* and *Scots* Fanaticks,
20 *Car.* I. agreed to make this Winter, was that of Archbiſhop *Laud*, who was tryed on a Charge
Archbp. *Laud* executed. of Popery and Treaſon againſt the State, the preceding Summer, before the Lords; who, after a Tryal of ſeveral Months, could find no Treaſon in him: However, the Commons, by the Aſſiſtance of the Rabble as uſual, compelled the Lords at length to paſs an Ordinance for taking off that great Man's Head, which was executed, on the 10th of *January*, on *Tower-Hill*; for the Particulars of whoſe Tryal and Execution, I refer to the State-Tryals; and only recite the Remark that the Lord *Clarendon*, makes on this Prelate: *viz*, *That his Learning, Piety and Virtue, have been attained by very few, and the greateſt of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the beſt of Men.* The very Day he
The Service of the Church of *England* aboliſhed. died, the Liturgy or Service of the Church of *England* was aboliſhed, and the Directory eſtabliſhed in the room of it.

Treaty of *Uxbridge*. The Commiſſioners appointed by all Parties, for negotiating a Peace, meeting at *Uxbridge*, on the 30th of *January*, 1644-5; thoſe from the Parliament, and the *Scots*, inſiſted; That Epiſcopacy, with the Worſhip and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, ſhould be totally aboliſhed; and that the Preſbyterian Plan, with their new Directory, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the room of it; and that the King, and all his Subjects, ſhould be obliged to take the Covenant. 2dly, That the Power of the Militia by Land, and the Naval Forces by Sea, ſhould be put into the Hands of the Parliament of each Kingdom. 3dly, That the King ſhould declare the

the Ceſſation of Arms with the *Iriſh* Rebels void. *A.* 1644-5 20 *Car.* I.

The King's Commiſſioners, on the other hand, tho' they would not conſent to the abſolute Deſtruction of the Church of *England*, made very large Conceſſions. They agreed, that all Perſons ſhould be left to uſe what Ceremonies they ſaw fit in Religious Matters; and that the Laws, obliging them to Conformity, ſhould be ſuſpended. 2dly, That the Biſhops ſhould exerciſe no Act of Juriſdiction or Ordination, without the Conſent of their Preſbyters; that there ſhould be no Pluralities, and that the Eccleſiaſtical Courts ſhould be regulated; with other Matters of leſſer Moment.

As to the Militia, the King's Commiſſioners agreed, that for ſeven Years the Perſons intruſted with it ſhould be nominated, one half by the King, and the other by the Parliament of each Kingdom. And as to *Ireland*, they ſhewed that the King had taken the propereſt Method to preſerve his Proteſtant Subjects there, by a Ceſſation of Arms, and could not declare it void. The Commiſſioners from the Parliament, and the *Scots*, reply'd; that they would not, nor could recede one tittle from their former Demands; and thereupon the Commiſſioners broke up on the 20th of *February*, and returned to their reſpective Principals: From whence it is manifeſt, that the Commiſſioners from the ſeveral Parliaments, never deſigned to make Peace with the King, unleſs he would conſent to the Deſtruction of the Church of *England*, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbytery, and tranſfer his Power over the Forces by Sea and Land to them. And had the King's Commiſſioners

A. 1644-5 / 20 *Car.* I. Commiſſioners conſented even to this, Sir *Henry Vane*, and the reſt of the Independants, had provided that no ſuch Treaty ſhould ever take Effect. *Vane* and *Cromwel* knew very well how to prevent the Ratification of ſuch a Treaty, by threatning to bring the Rabble upon the Parliament; or, if there was a Neceſſity for it, the Army it ſelf.

During the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, *Shrewſbury* was treacherouſly ſurrendred to the Rebels, by which the King's Communication with North-*Wales* was cut off, and an Aſſociation of the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Cheſter*, *Worceſter*, *&c.* in the behalf of his Majeſty, was prevented; and now the King looking upon his Affairs to be in a declining Condition, thought fit to ſend the Prince into the Weſt, that both of them might not be involv'd in the ſame Ruin, if the Enemy prevailed; and accordingly the Prince ſet out from *Oxford*, on the 5th of *March*, attended by the Lord *Colepepper*, and Sir *Edward Hide*, two of the Privy-Council, to whoſe Care he was committed.

Prince *Charles* ſent into the Weſt.

In the mean time, the Independants were employing all their Cunning at *Weſtminſter*, to get the ſelf-denying Ordinance paſſed. The Presbyterians, who were ſtill a great Majority in the Houſe, plainly ſaw the Tendency of it, and oppoſed it with all their might; whereupon Sir *Henry Vane* and *Cromwel* directed the moſt celebrated Preachers of their Party, to cry up this Ordinance in the City as the only Expedient to bring the War to a happy Iſſue; and the Citizens were ſo influenced by theſe Pulpit Harangues, that they came down in Crouds to petition for the

Arts uſed to get the ſelf-denying Ordinance paſſed.

the Paſſing of it, which had the uſual Effect; the Preſbyterians in the lower Houſe were terrified into a Compliance, and the Lords of late never durſt refuſe any thing that the Commons approved: And thus this bleſſed Ordinance was forced through both Houſes by the 3d of *April* 1645; notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition made both by the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Preſbyterians againſt it. *A.* 1644-5 — 20 *Car.* I. — *A.D.* 1645 — 21 *Car.* I.

The Ordinance was no ſooner paſs'd, but Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was conſtituted General for the Parliament, and the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, *Denby*, *Warwick*, the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Sir *William Waller*, Major-General *Maſſy*, and all the Chiefs, who began the War againſt the King, were obliged to reſign their Commiſſions; only *Cromwel*, who was gone to the Relief of *Taunton-Dean*, was indulged to keep his Commiſſion till he returned from that Expedition; before which, the General taking a Review of the Army, and being about to appoint new Officers in the room of thoſe that were excluded, deſired, that the Parliament would enlarge the Time for *Cromwel*'s reſigning his Commiſſion, that he might aſſiſt in the Execution of the great Charge he had undertaken: Whereupon it was agreed, that *Cromwel* ſhould ſerve the whole Campaign. And thus, ſays the Lord *Clarendon*, the Independants freed themſelves from thoſe Men, who were unacceptable to them, and kept *Cromwel* in his Command, who, in the Name of *Fairfax*, new modelled the Army, and put in ſuch Officers as would be at his Beck; whereby he became in a little time, not only Maſter of the Army, but of the Parliament itſelf.

All the former Generals turned out, but *Cromwel*; and *Fairfax* made General.

Upon

*A.D.*1645 — 21 *Car.* I.

The Commissions altered.

Upon this new Model of the Army, the Form of the Commissions granted to Sir *Thomas Fairfax* the General, and his Officers, were altered; and instead of running in the Name of the King and Parliament, they were now issued in the Name of the Parliament only, and the Care and Preservation of the King's Person, mentioned in the former Commissions, were entirely left out; the independant Rebels were so much honester than the Presbyterians their Predecessors, that they scorned to be guilty of so palpable a Piece of Hypocrisy, as to pretend any Concern for the King's Person, while they were levelling their whole Artillery at his Head: The principal Officers in this new Model after the General, were *Cromwel* the Lieutenant-General, *Skippon* the Major-General, and *Ireton* Commissary-General; and all the Colonels, and other Officers were bigotted Enthusiasts, scarce any of them Men of any Family or Fortune, but such as depended purely on the Sword.

Cromwel defeats the K's Forces at *Islip-Bridge*.

Cromwel, being now established, soon gave an Instance of his Activity and Courage, by falling upon a Brigade of the King's Horse at *Islip-Bridge*, which he entirely defeated on the 24th of *April*, and took two thousand Prisoners; and marching from thence to *Blechingly-House* within four Miles of *Oxford*, which was strongly fortified, he so terrified the young Governor, Colonel *Windebank*, or rather his new married Bride and the Ladies with her, that he was persuaded to deliver up the House without making any Defence; for which Prince *Rupert* caused *Windebank* to be tryed by a Council of War, and being condemned, ordered him to be shot before *Merton-College* Gate, his Majesty

Colonel *Windebank* shot at *Oxford*.

jesty being then absent, who was infinitely concerned at the Execution at his Return, when he knew the Circumstances of the Case. *A.D.* 1645 — 21 *Car.* I.

The Season for taking the Field being at hand, it was debated at *Oxford* what Expedition the Royalists should first enter upon, and some were of Opinion, that the King should unite all his Forces, and march towards *London*, while the Presbyterians and Independants were yet at variance, and their Army was not perfectly modell'd; but others proposing, that *Goring*, with part of the Army, should march into the West, and prevent the Relief of *Taunton*, while the King with his Army marched Northward; the latter Advice was followed, and his Majesty in this Northern Expedition, had the good Fortune to take *Leicester* by Storm; but hearing that *Oxford* was invested by *Fairfax*, he determined to march back to the Relief of that City: *Fairfax* however drew off from *Oxford* without firing a Shot against it, and marched into *Northamptonshire*, whither he was followed by the King, but not with any Design to engage the Enemy, till *Goring*'s Army, and some other Forces had joined his Majesty; the Royalists having taken up their Quarters at *Daintree*, remained there five Days without any Disturbance; but Advice being brought on the 13th of *June*, that *Fairfax* was at *Northampton*, and advancing towards them with a Force much superior to the Royalists, his Majesty retired to *Harborough*, designing to remain upon the Defensive till all his Troops were joined; but being alarm'd that very Night, with a Report that the Enemy were within six Miles of *Harborough*, it was suddenly resolved to fight them: And

The King divides his Army.

He takes *Leicester*.

A.D. 1645 accordingly on the 14th of *June*, all the King's Forces consisting of about four thou-
21 *Car.* I. sand Horse, and three thousand Foot, were
The Battle of *Naseby*. drawn up on a rising Ground, a Mile to the South of *Harborough*; the Right Wing of Horse being led by Prince *Rupert*, the Left by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and the Foot in the Center, by Sir *Jacob Ashley*. The Reserve was composed of the King's Life-Guards and another Regiment of Horse, making together about eight hundred Men: Thus this little Army, on which the Fate of three Kingdoms depended, remained drawn up in admirable Order some time; when a Report being brought, that the Enemy was retiring, Prince *Rupert* advanced with part of the Horse, and some Musqueteers, to fall upon their Rear; but he soon discovered his Mistake, and saw the Rebels drawn up on the Hills about *Naseby* ready to receive him: Whereupon resolving with his usual Impetuosity to charge the Enemy, he sent Orders to the rest of the Army to advance and support him with the utmost Diligence; who quitting the Advantage of their Situation, and marching with too much haste a Mile or two, engaged in great Disorder, and without receiving any Benefit from their Cannon, while the Enemy did considerable Execution on the Royalists with their Artillery: Under all these Disadvantages however Prince *Rupert* charg'd, and broke the Left Wing of the Enemy, commanded by *Ireton*, and even took that General Prisoner, with six Pieces of Cannon: The Lord *Ashby* also, who commanded the King's Foot after the first Volley, fell in upon the Rebels Infantry Sword in Hand, and put them into some Confusion; but

but the Left Wing of the Royaliſts did not meet with the like Succeſs, for being charg'd by *Cromwel* with ſuperiour Numbers both in Front and Flank, before they could recover the Top of the Hill, they were put to Rout, and fled out of the Field without making any Attempt to rally; after which, *Cromwel* charged the King's Foot in Flank, and made terrible Slaughter amongſt them: Whereupon his Majeſty ordered his Body of Reſerve to march, and ſupport the Foot, intending to charge himſelf at the Head of them; when a *Scotiſh* Nobleman, the Earl of *Carnwarth*, 'tis ſaid, who rode next his Majeſty, on a ſudden laid his Hand on the King's Bridle, and turned his Horſe about, crying, *Will you go upon your Death?* Whereupon the Reſerve were ſeized with a Panic Fear, and fled as faſt as their Horſes could carry them, till diſcovering the Miſtake, they made a Halt; and Prince *Rupert* returning from the Purſuit of the Enemy's Left Wing, the King was in hopes of reſtoring the Battle again, and offered to lead them on once more; but they could not be perſuaded to renew the Charge; whereupon the King and Prince *Rupert*, made as good a Retreat as they could, leaving the Enemy entire Maſters of the Field. *A.D.* 1645 — 21 *Car.* I. The K's Army routed.

In this Battle, the King loſt above an hundred and fifty Officers and Men of Quality, all his Cannon and Baggage, and ſaw moſt of his Foot cut in Pieces or made Priſoners; the Enemy committing the moſt barbarous Cruelties on thoſe that fell into their Hands: They did not, 'tis ſaid, murder leſs than an hundred Women, ſome of them the Wives of the Officers of the beſt Quality. The King's Cabinet alſo fell into their Hands, The Cruelty and Baſeneſs of the Rebels on this Victory.

*A.D.*1645 wherein they found ſeveral private Lettters between him and the Queen; of which they publiſhed ſuch Parts as they thought might caſt any Reflection on their Majeſties, with bruiſh Remarks of their own upon them, ſuppreſſing whatever might tend to the Honour or Advantage of the King or Queen.

21 *Car.* I.

The King retires into *Wales.*

After the Defeat at *Naſeby*, the King retired into *Wales*, and took up his Quarters at *Ragland-Caſtle*, a Seat of the Marquis of *Worceſter*'s, and had Hopes given him by the Gentlemen of that Country, that his Army would ſoon be recruited there, and in a Condition to make Head againſt the Enemy; but theſe Levies were very much obſtructed by the Adherents of the Rebels, ſome of whom were brought before his Majeſty, and accuſed of their Diſaffection and ill Practices; but the King forgave, and diſmiſs'd them: Whereupon the Marquis of *Worceſter* plainly told his Majeſty, *That this forgiving Temper might probably gain him the Kingdom of Heaven; but if ever he recovered the Kingdom of England by thoſe means, he would be his Bondſman.*

Goring defeated by *Fairfax.*

While the King continued in *Wales*, he received Advice that the Lord *Goring* was defeated at *Langport* by *Fairfax*, on the 10th of *July*; that *Bridgwater* ſurrendered to *Fairfax* the 23d of *July*, and the City of *Bath* the 29th; and here he received Intelligence of the Loſs of *Pontfract-Caſtle* in *Yorkſhire*: Hither alſo came to him Sir *Thomas Glemham*, with two hundred Foot, the Remains of the Garriſon of *Carliſle*, which he had been obliged to ſurrender to *David Leſly* after eleven Months Siege, in which the Garriſon was

Several Towns ſurrender to the Rebels.

reduced

reduced to that Diſtreſs, as to eat all their Horſes. *A D.*1645 *21 Car.* I.

His Majeſty now deſpairing of raiſing Forces ſufficient to make Head againſt the Enemy in *Wales*, marched Northward with the Troops he had left, deſigning to penetrate into *Scotland*, and join the Marquis of *Montroſe*, who had aſſembled an Army there for his Service; but *Leſly*, with all the *Scotiſh* Horſe, getting into *Yorkſhire* before him, prevented his Majeſty's putting that Deſign in execution; whereupon, having taken a Tour through the Counties of *Nottingham*, *Leiceſter*, *Northampton*, *Cambridge*, *Huntington*, and *Bedford*, his Majeſty returned to *Oxford* on the 29th of *Auguſt*, where the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, dying the ſame Day, the King advanced Sir *Richard Lane*, Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, to that Poſt. The K. endeavours to join *Montroſe* in vain. Lord-Keeper *Littleton* dies.

The King, having ſtaid two Days at *Oxford*, marched to the Relief of *Hereford*, which was beſieged by the *Scots*, who hearing of the Approach of the Royaliſts, abandon'd the Siege, and retired towards their own Country: In the mean time, *Fairfax* laid Siege to *Briſtol*, where Prince *Rupert* commanding in Perſon with a good Garriſon, aſſured his Majeſty that he would undertake to defend that City four Months, provided there was no Mutiny. However, his Majeſty thought fit to aſſemble all his Forces on the Side of *Wales*, and order General *Goring* to join him from the Weſt, with a Deſign to attempt the Relief of *Briſtol*, when, to his great Surpriſe, Advice was brought him, that the Place ſurrendered on the 11th of *September*: Whereupon his Majeſty retired again to *Cardiff-Caſtle* in *Wales*, from whence he ſent the following The King relieves *Hereford*. *Briſtol* beſieged by *Fairfax*. Surrender'd in 4 Days.

ing

*A.D.*1645 ing Letter to Prince *Rupert*, *viz. I muſt remember you of yours of the* 12th *of Auguſt, whereby you aſſured me, that if no Mutiny happened, you would keep* Briſtol *for me four Months. Did you keep it four Days? Was there any thing like a Mutiny? —- My Concluſion is to deſire you to ſeek your Subſiſtance, until it ſhall pleaſe God to determine of my Condition, ſomewhere beyond-Seas: To which end, I ſend you herewith a Paſs, &c.* He ſent alſo to the Lords at *Oxford*, whither the Prince retired, to demand his Commiſſion, and procure him a Paſs to leave the Kingdom; as alſo to commit his Friend Colonel *Leg*, Governor of *Oxford*, intending that Sir *Thomas Glemham* ſhould ſucceed to the Government of that City.

21 *Car.* I.

The King again attempts to join *Montroſe*.

The King's Affairs now being deſperate, he determined once more, to make his way into *Scotland*, and join the victorious Marquis of *Montroſe*; and to that end marched to *Weſt-Cheſter*, then beſieged by the Rebels, who thought fit to quit their Trenches on his Approach, and retire to a little Diſtance from the Town: Whereupon the Royaliſts ſallied out of *Cheſter*, and purſued them; and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who was marching to *Cheſter* by another Rout, fell upon the Beſiegers at the ſame time; but *Pointz*, who had hitherto attended the King's Motions, with a Body of three or four thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, appearing at that Inſtant, gave the Victory to the Rebels, and the King was forced to be a Spectator of the Ruin of the beſt Part of his Horſe, from the Walls of *Cheſter*; among whom fell the Captain of his Guards, the brave Earl of *Litchfield*, a third Brother of the Family

His Forces are routed near *Cheſter*.

mily of the *Stuarts*, who died in the Field, by the Hands of thoſe accurſed Rebels: This Defeat happened on the 26th of *September*, and rendered the King's Deſign of retiring to *Scotland* impracticable; whereupon he returned to the ſtrong Caſtle of *Denbigh*, in *North-Wales*, attended only by five hundred Horſe, where he received advice that the Marquis of *Montroſe* was defeated by *Leſly*, much about the ſame time as the Misfortune happened at *Cheſter*. *A.D.* 1645 — 21 *Car.* I.

He retires into *Wales*.

Montroſe defeated.

The King's broken Troops reſorting to him into *Wales*, from all Parts, he ſoon found himſelf at the head of three thouſand Horſe again, with which he marched to *Bridgnorth*, and propoſed to take up his Winter Quarters at *Worceſter*; but upon a Report that *Montroſe* had recovered his Loſſes, and gained an Advantage of *Leſly*, a Reſolution was ſuddenly taken, that the King ſhould march Northwards, and again endeavour to penetrate into *Scotland*; and the King accordingly advanced as far as *Tuxford*, and afterwards to *Welbeck*; but being there rightly informed, that *Montroſe* had been obliged to retire to the North of *Scotland*, and that *Leſly*'s whole Army lay between him and that General, his Majeſty thought fit to return back to *Newark*. However the Lord *Digby*, with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and ſome *Scotiſh* Noblemen at the head of fifteen hundred Horſe, undertook to break through the Rebels Quarters, and join *Montroſe*, and were ſo ſucceſsful as to rout ſeveral Detachments of the Rebels Army in their March; but in one Engagement, when Victory had in a manner declared for them, miſtaking a Party of the Enemy that fled for their own People,

The Lord *Digby*'s unſucceſsful attempt to join *Montroſe*.

*A.D.*1645 People, these brave Cavaliers were seized with a Panick, and dispersed by their own Fears, and their Baggage, with the Lord *Digby*'s Papers, who was Secretary of State, were all taken, of which the Enemy made the same Advantage as of those taken at *Naseby*. Our Adventurers however collected their shatter'd Troops again, and marched through the Northern Counties as far as *Dumfreeze* in *Scotland*; where, finding the Junction with *Montrose* impracticable, and their Men beginning to mutiny, the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and the *Scotish* Noblemen that were with them, embarked for the *Isle of Man*; and their Troops immediately after dispersed.

21 *Car.* I.

The K's Court full of Divisions.

The King receiving Advice of the Misfortune of his Forces that had been detached for *Scotland*, determined to remove from *Newark*, either to *Oxford*, or *Worcester*; but Prince *Rupert* coming to *Newark*, under pretence of justifying his Conduct in surrendring *Bristol*, the King deferred his Removal some time; during which, the Court appeared full of Factions and Divisions, that gave great Uneasiness to his Majesty, tho' this was but the natural Consequence of their ill Success; every one, as usual, laying the Blame upon another, when Things do not succeed. The King was pleased to acquit the Prince of Disloyalty and Treason, but not of Indiscretion, and expected he would have been satisfied with that Declaration; but, continuing still to foment Divisions in the Court, the King desired his Absence; whereupon the Prince, taking two hundred of his Friends with him, left *Newark* in Discontent, and marched to *Belvoir-Castle*; from whence he sent

Prince *Rupert* endeavours to justify himself.

The King orders him to leave the Court.

sent to *Westminster* for Passes to transport himself and his Followers beyond Sea. In the mean time, the Rebels had almost surrounded the King in *Newark*, and made his Retreat from thence extremely difficult; but his Majesty notwithstanding marched away, attended by five hundred Horse, in a dark Night; and, with infinite Labour and Hazard, pass'd all the Enemy's Quarters, and arrived safely at *Oxford*, on the 5th of *November*. *A.D.* 1645 — 21 *Car.* I.

The King returns to *Oxford*.

There was still an Army of Royalists in the West, which, in the opinion of Lord *Clarendon*, might have made a considerable Stand, and perhaps turned the Scale in favour of the King, if they had not been broken and destroyed, more by their intestine Divisions, than the Forces of the Enemy. A false Honour (says the noble Historian) was set up instead of the true one; and when the Officers were not willing to submit to what was commanded, they usually alledged, *That it was against their Honour*; *that their Honour would not suffer them to do this or that*: Except the ever Loyal Lord *Hopton*, of whom the same Writer observes, that when he was put upon any desperate Attempt, would tell the Prince, *That since his Highness thought it necessary to command him, he was ready to obey him, with the Loss of his Honour*. And now Things becoming desperate, and the Soldiers of both Armies plundering Friends as well as Foes, almost without Distinction; the Farmers, Husbandmen, and inferiour People, assembled in the West, to the Number of six or seven thousand, with a Resolution to defend themselves against the Ravages of the Soldiers; declaring sometimes for one Side, and sometimes

Divisions among the Generals in the West.

Club-men in the West.

*A.D.*1645 times for the other, as their Intereſt led them: And theſe Bodies of Ruſticks obtained the Name of Club-men, from the Weapon they generally uſed; but they were in a ſhort time routed and diſperſed by *Cromwel*, who afterwards uniting his Forces with *Fairfax* againſt the Royaliſts, reduced them to very great Straits: Whereupon General *Goring*, apprehending his Majeſty's Affairs paſt Recovery, left the Army, and tranſported himſelf to *France*, from whence he went afterwards to *Spain*; and there taking upon him the Habit of a Religious, according to *Dugdale*, died a Monk of the *Dominican* Order: But to return to the Armies, *Hereford* was ſurpriſed, and taken by the Rebels on the 18th of *December*, *Dartmouth* was taken by Storm the 18th of *January* 1645-6, *Belvoir-Caſtle* and *Weſt-Cheſter*, ſurrender'd the Beginning of *February*; the Lord *Hopton* was routed by *Fairfax* near *Torrington*, the 14th of the ſame Month: Whereupon the Prince, with the Lords *Capel*, *Colepepper*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, embarked for the Iſle of *Sicily*; and the Lord *Hopton*, with the Remains of the Royal Arms, being cloſely purſued by *Fairfax*, could obtain no better Terms, than that he ſhould diſband his Forces, and retire beyond Sea: *Lancaſter* ſurrender'd the 25th of *February*, *Saltaſh* the 28th, *Liskard* in *Cornwal* the 29th, and *Mount Edgcombe* about the ſame time; and what was ſtill more unfortunate, the Lord *Aſhley*, having aſſembled a Body of three thouſand Men, with which he was coming to the King's Aſſiſtance at *Oxford*, was encounter'd by the Rebels; and, tho' he made a gallant Defence, was entirely defeated on the 21ſt of *March*, and moſt

21 *Car.* I.

Goring goes beyond Sea.

Towns taken by the Rebels.

Lord *Hopton* routed near *Torrington*.

The Prince embarks for *Sicily*.

Lord *Hopton* diſbands his Forces, and goes beyond Sea.

Lord *Aſhley* routed.

moſt of his Men killed or taken Priſoners; the General himſelf being among the latter. Theſe were the laſt Forces that appeared in the Field on the King's Side. *A.*1645-6 — 21 *Car.* I.

During theſe military Tranſactions, the King ſent three ſeveral Meſſages from *Oxford* to the Faction at *Weſtminſter*, with Propoſitions of Peace, to none of which would they vouchſafe an Anſwer. However, he apply'd to them a fourth time, deſiring they would ſend a Safe-conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *Palmer*; by whom he would make ſuch particular Propoſitions, as he hoped would produce a Peace: And this being alſo refuſed, he let them know, that ſince all other Overtures had proved ineffectual, he deſired to enter into a *perſonal Treaty* with the two Houſes, and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*; and would come to *London* or *Weſtminſter* for that purpoſe, with ſuch of his Servants as attended him, not exceeding 300 Perſons, if he might have the Engagement of the Two Houſes; the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army, and thoſe of the *Scotiſh* Army, for his free and ſafe coming to and Abode in *London* or *Weſtminſter*, for the Space of forty Days; and after that time, for his free and ſafe Repair to *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, or *Newark*, if a Peace ſhould not be concluded; and, as an Encouragement for their admitting of ſuch a Treaty, his Majeſty offer'd by way of Preliminary, to ſettle the Militia in ſuch Perſons, as ſhould be acceptable to them.

The King ſends Propoſitions of Peace to the Parliament.

He offers to go to *London* and treat perſonally, which the Faction oppoſe.

The Parliament dreaded nothing more than the King's Arrival at *London*, apprehending that his Preſence might revive the Affections of the Citizens towards him: They

*A.*1645-6 therefore not only ſlighted his Propoſition for a perſonal Treaty, but publiſhed an Ordinance, that if the King ſhould come within their Lines, *the Committee of the Militia ſhould raiſe ſuch Forces as they ſhould think fit, to prevent any Tumults that might be occaſioned by it, and to apprehend thoſe that ſhould come with him, or reſort to him; and to ſecure his Perſon from Danger* (the Term uſed for laying violent Hands on his Majeſty and impriſoning him.) They alſo commanded all Perſons that had borne Arms under his Majeſty, to depart the City of *London*, on pain of being proceeded againſt as Spies, tho' many of them were permitted to reſide there by the Articles of Capitulation of the ſeveral Garriſons that had ſurrender'd.

21 *Car.* I.

The Faction refuſe a perſonal Treaty.

They give Orders for ſeizing the King if he came towards *London*.

*A.D.*1646 His Majeſty, finding that the Parliament were determined to come to no Accommodation on any other Terms than dethroning him, and uſurping his Authority, made ſome Overtures to the Independants; from whom he met with much the ſame Treatment: And indeed theſe Men, being under the Influence of *Cromwel*, *Vane*, and *Ireton*, who had determined to extirpate the Royal Family, and even Monarchy itſelf, it could not be ſuppoſed they ſhould acquieſce in any Terms his Majeſty could offer them: Still the King had ſome Hopes from the Differences that aroſe at this time between the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*; the *Engliſh* Rebels ſtanding no longer in need of that People, took all Occaſions to ſhew their Averſion and Contempt of them; but that which alarm'd the *Scots* moſt, was the Aſcendant they obſerved the Independants had gained in Point of Religion; from whence it was eaſy to foreſee the Downfal of their Idol

22 *Car.* I.

The King makes ſome Overtures to the Independants, which are rejected.

Differences between the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Rebels.

Idol Preſbytery in *England*, if not in *Scotland* itſelf. And in this Situation of Affairs, the *Scots* began to think they might get better Terms from the King, in relation both to their Religious and Civil Rights, than were to be expected from the then prevailing Party in the Parliament: Accordingly, their Miniſter at *Paris* gave the Queen ſome Aſſurance, that the *Scotiſh* Nation would ſpeedily return to their Duty; in which they were encouraged by the Court of *France*, who began, 'tis ſaid, to be apprehenſive the *Engliſh* Rebels would grow too powerful. Whereupon Monſieur *Montrevil* was ſent over to *England* from *France*, in order to cultivate a good Underſtanding between the King and his *Scotiſh* Subjects, and to engage the Faith of *France*, as well that the *Scots* ſhould perform whatever they promiſed to the King, as that the King ſhould make good his Engagements with them.

A.D. 1646
22 *Car.* I.

The *Scots* make ſome Overtures of Accommodation with the King.

Montrevil firſt came to *London*, and apply'd himſelf to the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners there, who plainly told him, that they peremptorily inſiſted on a Promiſe to be made by his Majeſty, for the Eſtabliſhment of Presbytery in *England*; without which, there was no hopes their Nation would ever join, him any more than the *Engliſh* Presbyterians. Whereupon *Montrevil* earneſtly preſſed his Majeſty to give them Satisfaction in this Point; urging, that this was the Advice of the *French* Court, as well as of his own Queen: But the King anſwered, that the propoſed Alteration in Church-Government was expreſly againſt his Conſcience; and therefore he could never conſent to it. *Montrevil* afterwards repaired to the *Scots* Army before *Newark*, to

The *French* Miniſter negotiates between the King and the *Scots*.

*A.D.*1646 to discover if the General Officers and the Committee of State in their Camp, were of
22 *Car.* I. the same rigid Spirit, as their Commissioners at *London:* He told them, that the King was inclined to come to their Army, if he might reside amongst them with Freedom and Honour; with which they seemed extremely pleased, pretending they desired nothing so much as his Majesty's Presence amongst them; adding, that he might safely advise his Majesty to repair to their Army upon his own Terms, and they would send a good Body of Horse to conduct him thither. Upon this Encouragement, *Montrevil* drew up an Instrument, which was approved of by the principal Officers of the Army, and signed by himself; wherein *he promised, in the name of the Court of France, that if the King would resort to the* Scotish *Army, he should be received there, as their natural Soveraign, and should be with them, in all Freedom of his Conscience and Honour; and that such of his Subjects and Servants, as should be with him, should be safely and honourably protected: That they would join with the King, and employ their Forces in procuring a happy Peace, for the Good of his Kingdoms, and the Recovery of his Majesty's just Rights.*

The *Scots* false at bottom.

In a very few Days afterwards, *Montrevil* discovered that the *Scots* never intended to perform what they had promised; some denying what they had said to him, and others declaring they never ordered others to say what they had done: Whereupon *Montrevil* advised his Majesty not to trust himself amongst the *Scots*, if he had any other Refuge. However, upon fresh Assurances given him by the Chiefs of the *Scotish* Army, he wrote

the

the King Word, that if he saw all Things desperate every-where else, and that he and his Servants could not be secure with his Parliament, he durst assure him, *That tho' he and his Servants might not be in the Scots Army with all that Satisfaction he might desire; yet he especially should be as secure as possible.* In other Letters he tells his Majesty, *That his Conscience should not be forced; that the hindering his Majesty's falling into the Hands of the* English *was of so great Importance to them, that it could not be believed; and that they would do all that lay in their Power to prevent it.* A.D. 1646 — 22 Car. I.

The King however had still such Suspicions of the Integrity of the *Scots*, that he would rather have trusted himself in the Hands of the Citizens of *London*, than with their Army; and, 'tis said, actually apply'd himself to two great Officers of the Parliament Army to convey him thither; but they refused it. In the mean time, *Exeter*, and several considerable Places in the West, surrendering to the Enemy, and *Oxford* itself being about to be blocked up; the King found there was a Necessity of retiring somewhither, unless he would hazard being taken with the Town by the Independants, from whom he did not expect much Mercy. *Exeter*, &c. taken by the Rebels.

Thus, uncertain what to do, or whither to fly, the King left *Oxford* in Disguise early on *Monday* Morning, being the 27th of *April*, accompanied only by Dr. *Hudson* and Mr. *John Ashburnham*, riding with a Cloak-Bag behind him as their Servant; and the better to conceal which Way he took, three other Persons went at the same time, and with the like Equipage, out of each of the other Gates of The King leaves *Oxford* in Disguise.

*A.D.*1646 of the City. His Majesty not being heard of for Nine Days, the Faction were under great Apprehensions of his coming to *London*, and immediately proclaimed, by Beat of Drum and Sound of Trumpet, *That if any one harboured or concealed the King, or knowing where he was, did not discover him, they should be proceeded against as Traytors to the Commonwealth, and die without Mercy.* And it appears, that his Majesty had some Thoughts of going to *London* by the Road he first took; for he went from *Oxford* to *Henley*, then to *Brentford* in *Middlesex*, and from thence to *Harrow on the Hill*, where he staid some time; and here it is supposed, he altered his Resolution of going to *London*, and determined to throw himself upon his Countrymen the *Scots*; for, from *Harrow on the Hill*, he returned to the Northward by *St. Albans*; and then, leaving the common Road, went to *Harborough*, where the *Scots* had appointed to meet him with a Party of Horse; but not finding them there, he went to *Downham* in *Norfolk*; from whence Dr. *Hudson*, being sent to the *Scots* Army to give them notice of his Approach, a Party of Horse was sent to meet his Majesty.

22 *Car.* I.

A Proclation for discovering the King's Person.

The King comes to the *Scotish* Army.

The *Scotish* Nobility and Generals seemed to be amazed at the King's Arrival in the Army, pretending to have known nothing of his coming, and sent hypocritical Letters to the Faction at *Westminster*, telling them, in their usual canting Strain, *Of the strange Providence with which they were surprised, the King's coming to their Army, a Matter of much Astonishment to them, not imagining he would have come to any Place in their Power*; adding, *That their had been no Treaty or Capitulation*

Who pretend to be surprised at it.

pitulation between his Majesty and them, nor any in their Names. And indeed, according to Bishop *Guthry*, they left none of their treacherous Arts unpractised to decoy the King amongst them, never designing the Protection they had promised him by *Montrevil*. There was nothing appeared under their Hands; and therefore they looked upon themselves to be perfectly at Liberty to make their Markets of their Soveraign. Had it been their Saviour himself, some don't scruple to believe, they would have imitated *Judas* in the Sale of him. The Faction at *Westminster* indeed were apprehensive the *Scots* might prove honester than they afterwards found them; and voted, *That the King, by going to their Army, did prolong the War, and foment Discord between the two Nations.* They voted also, *That his Majesty's Person should be disposed of as both Houses should direct*; sending a Kind of Order to the *Scots* to convey him to *Warwick-Castle*; which creating a Suspicion in them, that *Fairfax* might be ordered to assemble his Army, and take his Majesty from them by Force, before they had made their Terms, the *Scots* marched with the utmost Expedition to *Newcastle*, and took the King with them, having first obtained an Order from him for the Governor of *Newark* to surrender that Place to their Forces.

A.D. 1646
22 *Car.* I.

Votes of the Rump thereupon.

The *Scots* carry the King to *Newcastle*. Who orders *Newark* to surrender to them.

The *Scots* at first treated the King with outward Respect, tho' they guarded him as their Prisoner at the same time, and would suffer none but their own Creatures about him, or any Letters to be delivered him: Even *Montrevil*, the *French* Envoy, was not suffered to have any Conversation with his Majesty;

*A.D.*1646 and Mr. *Aſhburnham* was ordered to be gone, or they would deliver him up to the Parliament. Whereupon *Montrevil* upbraided the *Scots* for their Treachery and Double-dealing, ſhewing his Reſentment, that they ſhould make him their Tool to betray the King into their Hands by thoſe ſolemn Promiſes they had made, of protecting his Majeſty, and aſſiſting him in the Recovery of his juſt Rights: But theſe Saints were paſt bluſhing; they had made the King their Captive, and were determined not to let ſlip the Advantage they had gained, by being poſſeſs'd of his Perſon; and both *Montrevil* and *Aſhburnham* were ſoon after obliged to tranſport themſelves to *France*, where they found that the *French* Court and *Scots* underſtood each other perfectly well; and that Cardinal *Mazarine*, the Prime Miniſter, had ſent over *Montrevil* to impoſe upon the King; tho' that Miniſter, it appears, was not privy to the Fraud, being forbid the Court and diſgraced at his Return, for repreſenting that the *French* Court were obliged in Honour to compel the *Scots* to perform their Promiſes made by him to his Majeſty.

22 *Car.* I.

Montrevil upbraids the *Scots* with their Treachery.

The *French* play a treacherous Part alſo.

The first conſiderable Advantage the *Scots* made of the King was, to procure an Order from him to the victorious Marquis of *Montroſs*, to lay down his Arms; which when the Marquis ſaw, he ſaid, *As he had propoſed nothing to himſelf in all he had done, but his Majeſty's Service, ſo he ſhould not now diſpute his Commands*; but before he diſbanded his Troops, he found Means to let the King know, *That if this Command had been extorted from him, he would ſtill keep his Army on foot, and hop'd to force thoſe, in whoſe Hands he was, to do their Duty:* To which the King reply'd, he muſt

The *Scots* extort an Order to *Montroſe* to lay down his Arms.

A.D. 1646
22 Car. I.

must insist on his dismissing his Troops, lest the Men, who had him in their Power, should make his keeping them together, a Pretence for ruining him: Whereupon the Marquis obeyed his Majesty's Orders, and embarked for *France*. The *Scots* also, to shew the Faction in *England* that they were not averse to treating and entering into a friendly Correspondence with them, procured another Order from his Majesty to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Governor of *Oxford*, to make the best Conditions he could, and surrender it to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who now besieged that City. They also procured a general Declaration, and printed it; whereby his Majesty commanded all his Garrisons to surrender to the Parliament upon honourable Terms: Whereupon *Oxford* surrender'd on the 24th of *June*, and the Garrison, which consisted of seven thousand Men, Scholars, and Soldiers, were allowed to march out with all Marks of Honour, and retire to their respective Dwellings: Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, who were at this time in *Oxford*, having reconciled themselves to his Majesty; the Earls of *Dorset*, *Hertford*, and *Southampton*; the Lords *Cottington*, *Lane*, *Dunsmore*, *&c.* were by this Capitulation permitted to remain in *England* six Months, or Passes were to be given them at their Option, to embark for what Country they pleased. The Duke of *York*, who was taken at *Oxford*, was sent to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to whose Care the rest of the King's Children in the Power of the Faction had been committed; and a Pension was assigned the Earl by the Parliament for their Subsistance: The Prince Elector *Palatine*, who had joined the Rebels against the King

The *Scots* get an Order from the King for the Surrender of *Oxford* and the rest of his Garrisons to the Parliament.

The Duke of *York* and the rest of the King's Children committed to the Care of the Earl of *Northumberland*.

*A.D.*1646 in this War, made a Visit to his Brothers
22 *Car.* I. Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, before they left the Kingdom; but was received by them with the Contempt that he deserved. Upon the Surrender of *Oxford*, the Great Seal, and the other Seals of State were seiz'd and sent to *Westminster*, where they were broken to pieces in the Presence of the Two Houses: And it may be necessary to observe here, that by the Capitulation with *Oxford*, it was stipulated, that neither the Colleges or publick Buildings should be demolish'd or defac'd, or their Revenues sequestred. By another Article in the *Oxford* Treaty, it was agreed, that *Farringdon*, another of the King's Garrisons in that Neighbourhood, should surrender, and have the same Terms with that of *Oxford*: And on the 15th of *July*, Prince *Rupert* embark'd for *France*, and Prince *Maurice* for the *Hague*.

The Colleges sav'd by the Capitulation of *Oxford*.

Litchfield, *Worcester*, &c. surrender.

In the Month of *July*, *Litchfield*, *Worcester* and *Wallingford* surrender'd; as did on the 16th of *August*, *Pendennis-Castle*; and the next Day *Ragland-Castle* in *Wales*, defended to the last Extremity by the old Marquis of *Worcester*, and *Scilly-Castle* and Island surrender'd the 16th of *September*; the Prince of *Wales*, having some little time before embark'd for *Jersey*, from whence he went to the Queen his Mother at *Paris*. And thus all the King's Garrisons being reduced, and no Enemy appearing in the Field, *Fairfax* returned to *London*, where he was received in a triumphant Manner, being flatter'd with having put a glorious End to the Miseries of the Kingdom.

The War ended, *Fairfax* returns in Triumph to *London*.

While the King remained with the *Scots* Army at *Newcastle*, which was about eight Months,

Months, the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Preſbyterians made ſome Propoſitions for reſtoring him; the chief of which were, that he would recall all Declarations and Proclamations againſt the Parliament, and confeſs that they had been neceſſitated to take up Arms againſt him; that he, and all his Subjects, ſhould take the Covenant; that he ſhould aboliſh Epiſcopacy, and eſtabliſh Preſbytery in the three Kingdoms; that he ſhould put the Militia into ſuch Hands as they directed; that he ſhould deliver up the Nobility and Gentry, and the reſt of his Adherents, to their Mercy; and that neither civil or common Lawyers ſhould be ſuffered to follow their Profeſſions for the future; which laſt Article poſſibly was inſerted from a Conſciouſneſs, that their rebellious Practices were condemned by the Laws of the Land, and that they muſt expect to ſuffer as Traytors, if ever thoſe Laws recovered their former Force: The King, being preſs'd on all Hands to agree to theſe Propoſitions, anſwered; *That no Condition they could reduce him to, could be half ſo miſerable and grievous to him, as that to which they would perſuade him to reduce himſelf, and therefore bid them proceed their own Way*; adding, *that tho' they had all forſaken him, God had not.*

A.D. 1646
22 *Car.* I.
Propoſitions made the King by the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Preſbyterians at *Newcaſtle.*

This Anſwer being brought to the Faction at *Weſtminſter*, their next Conſideration was how to get the King into their Power; and having felt the Pulſe of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, they found them very ready to part with their King for a round Sum of Money: The *Scots* pretended that Two Millions were due to them for the Services their Army had done between *January* 1643, the Time they enter'd into *Engliſh* Pay, and *September* 1646; but of

*A.D.*1646 22 *Car.* I. of this the Faction at *London* ſhewed that they had received fourteen hundred thouſand Pounds already, and that their Demands were extravagant in ſeveral Inſtances. At length the *Scots* agreed to take the Sum of four hundred thouſand Pounds in full of all their Pretenſions, 200,000 *l.* to be paid before they left the Kingdom, and the remaining 200,000 *l.* by ſeveral Payments at ſtated Times after their Return; in conſideration whereof, they promiſed to deliver up the King to the *Engliſh* Rebels: There were indeed many honeſt *Scots* aſham'd of this Bargain; they ſaid, that their Nation would be diſgrac'd and infamous to the End of the World, if they yielded to this; that by their Oaths of Allegiance, and even by their Covenant, they had ſworn to protect and defend him; that the King had fled to to them for Refuge; and if it was againſt the Law and Practice of all Nations to deliver up the meaneſt Perſon who came to them for Shelter, how would the World condemn them for giving up their Soveraign into the Hands of his mortal Enemies: But the Faction at *Weſtminſter* anſwer'd, that the *Scotiſh* Army came into *England* as Mercenaries, and took their Pay; and it was not for them to pretend to capitulate with their Maſters: And it was carried afterwards, both in the *Scotiſh* Army, in their Parliament, and General Aſſembly, *That upon the Receipt of Two hundred thouſand Pounds in hand, and as much more by future Payments, their Army ſhould retire out of* England, *and ſurrender the King to the* Engliſh, *without any Conditions for him.* Biſhop *Guthry* however endeavours to excuſe the generality of the *Scotiſh* Nation from the Guilt of this infamous Con-

The *Scots* agree to deliver up the King for 400,000 *l.*

Great part of their Nation aſham'd of the infamous Bargain.

Contract: He says, there were not present a third part of their Nobility in the House when the Act pass'd; and that of the Gentry and Commonalty, there was not one in a hundred but abhorr'd the Fact; and that tho' a majority of their pack'd General Assembly approved it, yet throughout the Kingdom far the greatest part of their Clergy detested the thing. It is easy to see which of the *Scots* were most concerned in this Piece of Treachery, by the Distribution of the Pieces of Silver (the Price of the Prince that was sold) afterwards. The Marquis of *Argyle*, it seems, received thirty thousand Pounds for his own Share, and fifteen thousand more were distributed among his Friends; several of the Ministers of their Kirk received large Sums; Duke *Hamilton* had thirty thousand Pounds given him; from whence it appears, that both the *Argyle* and *Hamilton* Factions concurr'd in this detested Sale, and where these two Noblemen were united (which was not often indeed) they were able to carry any thing in that Kingdom. But to proceed: While this blessed Treaty was negotiating, Offers were made the King, 'tis said, by the Independants, to restore him on better Terms than the Presbyterians would give him; but some, who pretended to wish well to his Majesty, assur'd him, that those Men had no other Views, but the Destruction of his Majesty, and the Ruin of the Monarchy itself; and it being proposed by *Murray* of the Bed-chamber to make his Escape beyond Sea, the King chose to come into this Project, rather than trust either Presbyterians or Independants; but his Majesty being disguis'd, and ready to embark, was betray'd (as 'tis said) by *Murray*

*A.D.*1646
22 *Car.* I.

Both the *Argyle* and *Hamilton* Faction Sharers in the Money.

*A.D.*1646 *Murray* himſelf: But however that was, this gave the *Scots* a Pretence for making the King a cloſe Priſoner, and placing a Guard in the very Room he lay, where the King was almoſt ſtifled with the Tobacco taken by the rude Soldiers, to which he had always a very great Averſion.

22 *Car.* I. The King made a cloſe Priſoner by the *Scots*.

A. 1646-7 All Things being now agreed between the Factions of each Kingdom, Commiſſioners arrived at *Newcaſtle* from *Weſtminſter* on the 23d of *January*, to receive his Majeſty from the *Scots*; among whom were the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, the Lord *Montague*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Sir *John Cook*, Sir *James Harrington*, Mr. *Crew*, Major-General *Brown*, and two Puritan Chaplains, *viz. Marſhal* and *Caryl*. His Majeſty reſenting this Treachery of the *Scots* as it deſerved, they pretended that the Reaſon of their delivering him up to the *Engliſh*, was his refuſing to take the Covenant, and ſign the Propoſitions above-mentioned; but all the World diſcovered ſoon after, that it was the Money was the real Equivalent for his Majeſty's Perſon. Their Leaders ſold their King then, as their Poſterity afterwards did their Country, to make their particular Families. But to return: The *Scots*, having delivered up the King on the 30th of *January*, marched from *Newcaſtle* towards their own Country, leaving the Northern Counties miſerably harraſs'd and impoveriſh'd, tho' they had received little leſs than Two Millions of Money from their *Engliſh* Maſters, during their Continuance in the Kingdom.

The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners receive the King of the *Scots*.

Who march into their own Country.

Some few Months before the Concluſion of this wretched Bargain (*viz.*) on the 14th of *September*, died the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had ſo

Earl of *Eſſex* dies.

so long been General of the Rebels; he lived to see himself slighted and neglected by the Men in Power, and even by the Army he had commanded, and went off the Stage unpitied and unlamented by all Men, but the Presbyterian Sect, to whom he seems to have devoted himself. But to return to the King whom I left at *Newcastle*: His Majesty was carried from thence (by the Committee of Parliament that went down to receive him of the *Scots*) to *Holdenby* or *Holmby-House* in *Northamptonshire*, then one of the Royal Palaces, which the Presbyterians had assigned for his Person. Here the same Committee continued to attend him; and, to shew him he was their Captive, they treated him in much the same manner the *Scots* had done. They would suffer no Servants about him, but such as they approv'd of. They deny'd him the Attendance of his own Chaplains, not allowing his Majesty so much Liberty of Conscience, as to worship God in his own Way, after the Manner of the Church of *England*; but, on the contrary, sent him two Puritan Chaplains of their own, with whom his Majesty refusing to join in their Extemporary Blasphemy and Nonsense, he was not suffered to worship God in publick all the while he remained at *Holmby*; of which his Majesty had so just a Resentment, that he would not suffer those Fanatick Fathers to say Grace for him, but performed that Office himself.

A. 1646-7
22 *Car.* I.

The King carried to *Holmby-House* in *Northamptonshire*.

Deny his own Chaplains.

While the King remained at *Holmby*, he sent the Parliament an Answer to the Propositions that had been presented him at *Newcastle*, in which he made the following large Concessions (*viz.*) To allow the Presbyterian Church-Government for three Years, his Majesty and

Concessions made by his Majesty.

A. 1646-7 his Houſhold being allowed to perform divine
22 *Car.* I. Worſhip according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; he offered alſo to yield up the Militia to the two Houſes for ten Years; and as to his taking the Covenant, as he could not ſatisfy his Conſcience in that particular, he deſired he might have Liberty to conſult his own Chaplains in the Matter; and, laſtly, propoſed to treat perſonally with the Parliament, that he might ſettle the Government to their Satisfaction. But they were ſo far from being ſatisfied with theſe Conceſſions, that they would not vouchſafe him an Anſwer: On the contrary, they gave out, *That his Majeſty was averſe to Peace, and never would accept of any Conditions they offered*; and the Puritan Tribe were directed to pray, *That God would enlighten the King's Heart to comply with his Parliament*; intimating thereby, that it was intirely the King's Fault they did not reſtore him: But the Power theſe Men thus exorbitantly abuſed, was ſoon after wreſted from them. As the Preſbyterians had uſurped the Royal Authority; ſo the Army and Independants uſurped upon them, which they firſt diſcovered when they paſs'd a Vote for diſbanding Part of the Army. That Impoſtor *Cromwell* was too hard for them at their own Weapon, *Hypocriſy*: He underhand conſtituted a Council of General Officers, to whom were added three or four out of every Regiment (moſt of them Serjeants and Corporals) elected by the common Soldiers, called Agitators; who formed a kind of Parliament, and took upon them to examine all the Orders made by the Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, to regulate the Army, and even to ſettle the State of the Nation. Theſe Men preach'd and pray'd, and work'd

The Army claim a Share in the Government.

work'd up the reſt of the Army to a Deteſtation of Preſbytery, and an Abhorrence of the Parliament; and having procured the Self-denying Ordinance to be ſuſpended, they introduced into the Houſe of Commons ſeveral Officers of the Army, in the room of ſuch as were dead or expelled; among whom were *Fairfax*, *Ireton*, *Harriſon*, and ſome of the moſt violent Independants; but the Preſbyterians had ſtill the Majority in the Houſe. *A.D.* 1647 — 23 *Car.* I.

The Army, however, were not afraid to let the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* know, that they would not be diſbanded: They declared alſo, that the Preſbyterian Government was more intolerable, than either that of the Biſhops or Judges: That the Parliament ought not to look upon the Army as a Body of mercenary Janizaries, kept in Pay to fight their Battels; but Volunteers, who fought in Defence of the Liberty of the Nation, of which they were a Part: They complained, that ſome Officers of the Army had been committed to Priſon by the Parliament, which was a Breach of the Army's *Privileges*; ſince all Soldiers ought to be try'd by a Council of War, and were not accountable to any other Judicatory; and therefore deſired, that thoſe who had been committed might be ſet at Liberty: With which Addreſs they ſent three Agitators to the Houſe of Commons, who delivered it with an uncommon Aſſurance; and when the Speaker would have examined them as to ſome Particulars, they anſwered, *They were employ'd by the Army, and would not anſwer any thing without the Leave of that Body:* At which the Houſe ſhewed their Reſentment, and gave the Agitators very rough Language. The Army, on the other hand,

*A.D.*1647 23 *Car.* I. published a Vindication of their Proceedings, directed to their General; in which they complained of a Design to disband and new-model their Army, which they said was a Plot contrived by some Men who had lately tasted of Soveraign Power, and being elevated above the Condition of Servants, endeavouring to become Masters, were degenerated into Tyrants; and, lastly, declared, that they would not be disbanded, till the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects were vindicated and established. This Vindication being signed by several inferior Officers of the Army, the Parliament caused them to be imprisoned, which occasioned another Address to the General, complaining of the Injuries that were done them: And the General was prevailed also to write to the House, wherein he represented, That it was very strange, that the Officers of the Army might not be suffered to Petition, when so many Petitions were received against them (the Presbyterians had procured Petitions from the City, *&c.* for disbanding the Army;) and that he doubted the Army would draw to a Rendezvous, and think of some other Way for their Vindication. Thus did *Cromwel* make Use of the Agitators, and even of the General himself, to promote his ambitious Designs. The Army were work'd up to a general Mutiny, and instructed to call for their Arrears, and to declare they knew how to pay themselves, and (the Parliament having voted, that those who refused to obey their Orders should be disbanded) they would not be appeased, till the Parliament rased that Declaration out of their Journals, and sent them a Month's Pay, and appointed a Committee to treat with another Committee from the Army;

The Army declare they will not be disbanded.

my, concerning their Grievances; which put the Army upon a level with the Parliament. *A.D.*1647 23 *Car.* I.

Cromwel however, who had raiſed all this Storm, ſo artfully play'd the Hypocrite at this Time, that he was not ſuſpected to have had any hand in it; for, being in the Houſe when thoſe Petitions came from the Army, he appear'd highly incens'd againſt the Inſolence of the Soldiers, exclaimed againſt their Preſumption, and was actually the Occaſion of committing ſeveral of the Ringleaders; whereby the Houſe were ſo deceived, that they pitched upon him as the propereſt Perſon to go down to the Army, and ſuppreſs the Mutiny. At his Return, he complained mightily of the great Licence that appear'd in the Army; told the Houſe, that he was in Danger of his Life, and with great Difficulty made his Eſcape from amongſt them; bewailing, that the Nation would ſoon be involv'd in new Miſeries; on the repeating whereof, he ſhed a Shower of Tears: But the moſt violent Agitators, being at length diſcovered to be *Cromwel*'s Creatures, and himſelf at the bottom of all that Diſtraction that had appeared in the Army, the leading Men of the Commons determined to apprehend the Impoſtor, and ſend him to the *Tower*; which Reſolution was no ſooner taken, than he received Advice of it (ſo good was his Intelligence) and ſlipp'd out of Town in the Night Time. The next Morning, when the Houſe thought to have ſeized him in his Place, Word was brought them, that he was met out of Town at Break of Day, with one Servant, on his Way to the Army, where he had appointed a Rendezvous of ſeveral Regiments of Horſe. *Cromwel* was no ſooner come to the Army, but he conſidered

Cromwel's Hypocriſy.

He is diſcovered, and eſcapes narrowly being committed to the *Tower*.

*A.D.*1647 sidered that it would be of great Advantage to his ambitious Views, to be poſſeſs'd of the King's Perſon; and accordingly put it into the Heads of the Agitators, to take his Majeſty out of the Hands of the Committee of Parliament at *Holmby*, and bring him to the Army: Whereupon a Troop of Horſe was immediately ſent under the Command of Cornet *Joyce*, to convoy his Majeſty to *New-Market*, where the Army then lay.

23 *Car.* I.

The Army ſeize the King at *Holmby*.

The Cornet arriving at *Holmby* about midnight, demanded Entrance; at which Major-General *Brown*, who commanded the Soldiers that had the Guard of the King's Perſon, pretended to be ſurpris'd, and order'd the Guard to fire; but there was ſo good an Underſtanding between the Soldiers within and thoſe without, that the Gates were open'd without firing a Shot, and the Cornet and his Men admitted: Whereupon the Cornet and ſome of his Followers went up to the King's Appartment with their Piſtols in their Hands, and deſir'd Admittance; but being told the King was in Bed, and would ſee him the next Morning, he was perſuaded to retire for the preſent: And being introduced to the King next Morning, and informing him that he was come to convoy his Majeſty to the Army; it was demanded by what Authority he came, and what were his Inſtructions: To which the Cornet anſwer'd (preſenting his Piſtol) that That was his Authority, and the Troops his Majeſty ſaw drawn up before the Palace were his Inſtructions; intimating he was ſent by the Army. Whereupon the King taking a View of the Troops, and obſerving them to be tall, perſonable young Fellows, well mounted and arm'd, ſmiling ſaid, *His Inſtruc-*

Instructions were in fair legible Characters, and might be read without spelling; but desir'd the Commissioners might be sent for, to whose Custody the Parliament had committed him; which the Cornet consenting to, the Commissioners came, and demanded, whether he had any Orders from the Parliament, or whether he was sent by the General? Both which Questions he answer'd in the Negative; and, in short, taking both the King and the Commissioners with him, he return'd towards the Army, arriving the first Night at *Hinchingbrook* near *Huntington*, the Seat of Colonel *Montague*: Here the King was met by two Regiments of Horse commanded by Colonel *Whaley*, who declared, that the General knew nothing of this Violence that had been offer'd to his Majesty and the Committee of Parliament, till it was too late to prevent it; and propos'd that they would return to *Holmby* again, where they might remain in the same State they were before: But both the King and the Committee desiring to proceed in their Journey, they were brought to *Childerly*, a Seat of Sir *John Cutts*'s near *Cambridge*, the next Day; whither the University came to wait on his Majesty, as did soon after General *Fairfax* himself with Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, Commissary-General *Ireton*, Major-General *Skippon*, Lieutenant-General *Hammond*, with several Colonels and other Field-Officers, attended by their Chaplains, *Hugh Peters*, *Dell Sedgwick*, *&c.*

A D. 1647

23 *Car.* I.

The King demanded of *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*, whether it was by their Orders he was brought from *Holmby*, which they both deny'd; but he told them, unless they hanged up *Joyce*, he would not believe it: However, they

Fairfax and *Cromwel* express great Loyalty and Affection for his Majesty.

*A.D.*1647 — 23 *Car.* I. they proceeded to make the higheſt Profeſſions of Affection and Duty to the King; and *Fairfax*, retiring to a Window with his Majeſty, made him a Tender of his Service; to which the King reply'd, *He was ſorry to find the General had no more Power in the Army than himſelf.* Which Anſwer, *Fairfax* afterwards declared to his Friends, gave him more Vexation than any thing that had befallen him during the War. This good Man, it ſeems, was not appris'd till then, that he was no more than a Tool to *Cromwel* and the Independants; and when the General would have called *Joyce* to a Court Martial to vindicate his Honour, he ſoon found himſelf obliged to drop the Proſecution by the Agitators, from whom the Cornet received his Orders.

The King treated better by the Army than by the Parliament.

In the mean time, *Cromwel* gave his Majeſty Encouragement to hope, that if his Friends would ſit ſtill, and not declare againſt the Army, they would certainly reſtore him to his Throne upon his own Terms; for one principal Deſign in getting the King into his Power, was to prevent the Royaliſts joining with the Presbyterians. To ingratiate himſelf therefore with the Cavalier Party, *Cromwel* had no ſooner brought the King to *New-Market*, but he ordered him to be treated with the Reſpect due to their Soveraign. He was permitted to ride out and take his Pleaſure on the Heath, and his Friends ſuffered to attend him with all imaginable Freedom: His Chaplains and Servants alſo were allowed to officiate in their reſpective Places, and he was no longer debarr'd from the Exerciſe of his Religion; which made the King and his Friends flatter themſelves, that *Cromwel* and the Leaders of the Independants had no other

View

View, but to make their own Fortunes, by contributing to his Majesty's Restoration. They were not aware, that *Cromwel* now aspir'd to Empire, and that nothing less than the Destruction of the King and Royal Family, that stood in his Way, could satisfy that Saint, who in truth only courted his Majesty, in order to gain the Ascendant of his Rivals in Power, the Parliament. But to proceed: The Houses at *Westminster*, hearing that the King was in the Power of the Army, which was in full March towards *London*, were in the utmost Consternation; they drew out their Militia, levied Troops, and fortified the Avenues to the City, sending at the same time to the General, to deliver the King's Person to their Committee again, and not to advance within five and twenty Miles of *London*: To which the General answered, the Army was arrived at *St. Albans*, before he received their Orders; and as to the King's Person, that all imaginable Care should be taken for his Majesty's Security. *A.D.* 1647 — 23 *Car.* I.

The Parliament, finding the Army did not approach the City, recovered their Courage, and published a kind of Memorial; declaring, that they intended to bring the King with Honour to his Parliament, but that he was detained Prisoner by the Army, and they had Reason to apprehend his Person in Danger; To which the Army reply'd, that the King was not a Prisoner, or detained against his Will; and appealed to the King himself and his Friends, who daily resorted to him, if he had not more Liberty and Respect shewn him in the Army, than ever he had by the Committee of Parliament at *Holmby*; and the Parliament, being apprehensive of a Union

A Contest between the Parliament and Army about the King.

*A.D.*1647 23 *Car.* I. between the King and the Army, ſent his Majeſty a Meſſage, that if he had not been treated with that Reſpect he ought to have been at *Holmby*, it was not their Faults; deſiring, he would move the General for his coming to *London*, where Things might be ſettled to their mutual Satisfaction. Thus was the King courted by both Parties, with a View purely to their reſpective Intereſts; which as he was very well appris'd of, he did not think it prudent to declare for either in the Circumſtances he was; but deſired, that both Parties would haſten their Conſultations, that the Kingdom might once more enjoy the Fruits of Peace.

The Army's Remonſtrance againſt the Parliament.

In the mean time, the Army ſent a kind of Remonſtrance to the Parliament; wherein they required, that the Houſe might ſpeedily be *purg'd* of ſuch Members as ſought their Ruin; That ſome Time might be fix'd for diſſolving the Parliament; That the Freedom of the People to petition them, might be vindicated; That the exorbitant Power of their Country Committees might be taken away; That the Parliament ſhould account to the Kingdom for the great Sums they had received; part whereof, they were inform'd, was divided among their Leaders and their Friends; and that after Delinquents had paid their Compoſitions, an Act of Indemnity might be paſs'd: In Anſwer to which, the Parliament voting, that the Army ſhould remove forty Miles from *London*, and not intermeddle in Affairs of State; the Army impeach'd twelve of their leading Members, and threatned them to that degree, that thoſe Members thought fit to abſent themſelves from the Houſe, and ſome of them ſoon after tranſported themſelves beyond

They impeach 12 of the leading Members.

yond Sea. At which many more of the Members were so terrified, that they thought it high Time to make their Peace with the Army; and accordingly both the Speakers, with their Maces, eight Lords, and about fifty Commoners, pretending to be driven from the Houses by Tumults and a prevailing Faction, went suddenly down to the Army, which was now advanc'd as far as *Hounslow-Heath*, and promised to concur with them in all their Enterprises for the Good of the Kingdom. The Army, on the other hand, shewed these Members the utmost Respect, treated them as the Two Houses, promised all Submission to them, and that they would restore them to their Places in Parliament at the hazard of their Lives. However, the small Remainder that were left at *Westminster*, proceeded to chuse new Speakers, and still continued to call themselves *the Parliament*.

A.D. 1647 — 23 *Car.* I.

The Speakers and several Members desert to the Army.

The Army afterwards continuing their March towards *London*, were met at *Hyde-Park* by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, who deny'd their countenancing the late Tumults, made their Submission, and offer'd the General a Present of a golden Cup; which he sullenly refused, and marched his Forces into the City: Then he conducted the two Speakers and the Members to the Two Houses of Parliament, and received the Thanks of both, for the Protection he had given them. And the Houses afterwards voted, that whatever had been done by the Army was according to Law; and conferr'd a Gratuity of fifty thousand Pounds upon them, as their DELIVERERS. A publick Thanksgiving also was appointed on this occasion, and *Marshal*, one of their Chaplains, said, *That the Deliverance*

They are brought to the Parliament House again in Triumph by the Army.

A.D. 1647 — 23 *Car.* I.

was greater than that of the Gunpowder-Treason; and that People might be deterr'd from oppoſing the Army for the future, ſeven Lords were impeach'd, whom they looked upon as their Enemies; and the Lord-Mayor and ſeveral eminent Citizens, who had promoted Petitions againſt the Army, were committed to the *Tower*.

7 Lords impeach'd. The Lord-Mayor, *&c.* committed for petitioning againſt the Army.

The King in the mean time removed from Place to Place, as the Army marched: From *New-Market*, he was carried to *Royſton* the 24th of *June*; from thence to *Hatfield-Houſe*; then to *Windſor*; afterwards to *Caverſham*, to *Maidenhead*, to *Woborne-Abby* in *Bedfordſhire*, to *Latimers* in *Bucks*, to *New-Park*, to *Stokes*, to *Oatlands*; and laſtly, on the 16th of *Auguſt*, to *Hampton-Court*, having accompanied the Army in its Marches and Countermarches for about ten Weeks after his Removal from *Holmby*. His Majeſty's Servants being permitted to attend him at *Hampton-Court*, he appear'd in all the Splendor he us'd to do before the Troubles, tho' he was in reality a Priſoner; for, as part of the Army was quarter'd in *Weſtminſter*, to awe the Parliament; another part was quarter'd between that City and *Hampton-Court*, to prevent his Majeſty's Eſcape; and a Council of Officers and Agitators ſat conſtantly at *Fulham*, in the Road from *London* to *Hampton-Court*, to prevent any Agreement between the King and the Presbyterians, to the Prejudice of the Army.

The King brought to *Hampton-Court*.

Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, two of the King's Servants, ariving from *France*, and waiting on his Majeſty about this Time, were employ'd by him to conſult his Friends what was proper to be done in theſe Circumſtances, and to ſound the leading Men in the Army

Army as to their Intentions concerning him. These Gentlemen had the good Fortune to gain over to the King's Party Major *Huntington*, the Major of *Cromwel*'s own Regiment, and one who was much trusted by him. *Huntington* inform'd them, that he heard *Ireton* say, that rather than his Majesty should continue enslav'd by that vile Presbyterian Party, if but five Men would join with him, he would venture his Life for his Redemption: And that *Cromwel* in like manner had declared at *Putney*, that if ten Men would stand by him he would hazard his Life and Fortune for the King. And Sir *John Berkley*, on this Encouragement, applying himself to these two Generals, *Cromwel* told him, that he and his Friends were of opinion, that no Men could enjoy their Lives and Estates quietly, without the King had his Right. At another time he told Sir *John*, that he had seen the tendereſt Sight that ever his Eyes beheld; which was the Interview between the King and his Children; and, weeping plentifully, added, that never any Man had been so much impos'd on as himself, in relation to the King's Character; for *he now thought him the most upright and conscientious Man in the Three Kingdoms*; and that the Independants were infinitely oblig'd to him, that he did not consent to the Propositions presented to him at *Newcastle*, which would have intirely ruin'd them, and which his Majesty's Interest seem'd to invite him to; concluding with a Wish, that *God would be pleas'd to look upon him according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards his Majesty*: But both *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, as Sir *Philip Warwick* observes, took Care to give nothing under their Hands, or have

*A.D.*1647
23 *Car.* I.

Cromwel and *Ireton* pretend to serve the King.

*A.D.*1647 have any Witneſs of theſe kind Expreſſions, but the Man they ſpoke to.

23 *Car.* I. In the mean time, the Parliament having ſent the King ſome Propoſitions, his Majeſty, before he would return an Anſwer to them, ſent for Major *Huntington* already mention'd; and demanded whether he could aſſure him, that *Cromwel* was the *ſame in his Heart to him, as by his Tongue he had ſo freely and ſo frequently expreſs'd himſelf.* Whereupon the Major deſired a Day's Time before he return'd an Anſwer, which being agreed to, he went privately to *Cromwel* (who was at *Putney*) that Night; and ſounding him, as to his Sincerity towards the King, *Cromwel* anſwer'd, That he did really and uprightly mean and intend to perform his Promiſes to the King, as to the full reſtoring and eſtabliſhing him in his juſt and lawful Rights; wiſhing, that neither himſelf, his Wife or Children might ever proſper, if he did not reſtore him, provided the Army remained an Army; and if not, they were bound to fall with him, making bitter Reflections on the Presbyterian Party in the Parliament, who, he ſaid, deſign'd to enſlave the King.

Ireton uſed much the ſame Expreſſions; adding, They would purge and purge the Houſe again, till they had brought it to ſuch a Temper as ſhould do his Majeſty's Buſineſs; and rather than fail in what they had promiſed, they would join the *French*, *Spaniard*, Cavalier, or any Men that would join them to force the Parliament to a Compliance; and this Major *Huntington* reported to the King, with which his Majeſty was ſo ſatisfied, that before he finiſh'd his Anſwer to the Parliament's Propoſitions, he ſent them by Major *Hunting-*

Huntington to *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, to be perus'd and alter'd as they saw fit: After which, he wrote the Answer over again with their Alterations, and sent it to the Two Houses, where it was read about the middle of *September*; importing, that he could not consent to all their Propositions, because it was necessary to take into Consideration the Proposals of the Army, which seem'd more conducing to the Satisfaction of all Interests, and desired he might have a personal Treaty with them, where all Matters might be settled and adjusted, and the Peace of the Kingdom restor'd. But see, says the Major, the horrid Perfidiousness of these grand Impostors, *Cromwel* and *Ireton!* who no sooner heard the King's Answer read in the House of Commons, but they inveighed against it with the utmost Vehemency, tho' it had been approved by themselves; drew the House into a Resolution, that the Answer was a flat Denial; and from that Day had never any Conversation with his Majesty.

A.D. 1647 — 23 *Car.* I.

The K's Answer to the Propositions of the Parliament.

The perfidious Practices of *Cromwel* and *Ireton*.

It has been insinuated indeed, but without the least Shadow of Proof, that *Cromwel* intercepted a Letter from his Majesty to the Queen; wherein the King intimated, he rely'd on the *Scots*, and never intended to make good what he had stipulated with the Independants; from whence *Cromwel* concluded, that his Majesty was not to be trusted; and this occasion'd that Alteration in *Cromwel*'s Conduct. But can any one imagine, that if *Cromwel* had such a Letter, he or his Friends would not have produced it, or a Copy of it, all this Time in his Vindication: Add to this (what Mr. *Herbert* observes) that this supposed Letter must have been written long before the

Cromwel's Pretence that he could not trust his Majesty consider'd.

*A.D.*1647 the Assistance promised by the *Scots*; and
23 *Car.* I. that *Cromwel* knew, if he had doubted the King, he might have had as full a Pardon, and his Honours and Preferments as firmly settled as he pleas'd: Nay, the Royalists among the Nobility would have become Hostages or Pledges for all that should have been stipulated, either as to his Security, or the conferring on him and his Friends, Honours and Estates; so that *Cromwel* need not have depended on the King's Veracity for what he promis'd; and consequently, how much soever he might suspect the King's Integrity, *That* could be no sufficient Reason for *Cromwel*'s altering his Measures. But at last, what is more manifest, than that *Cromwel* had now set his Heart on the obtaining Soveraign Power, and the destroying his Majesty: The Agitators, his Creatures, made no Secret of it, even at that Time; that they intended to punish, that is, murder his Majesty as the grand Delinquent, and alter the very Frame of the Government. This had been long since determin'd, how artfully soever *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and the rest of their Leaders might play their Parts, and flatter his Majesty, till they had got the Ascendant of the Parliament, in order to prevent the Cavaliers striking in with the Presbyterian Interest. Nor is it to be suppos'd, that *Cromwel*, after he had thus basely betray'd and deceiv'd his Majesty, would not frame some Apology for his perfidious Dealings, which he knew would be credited by his Party, tho' there was not a Man in the three Kingdoms besides, but saw through the Cheat; even Major *Huntington* already mention'd, an Officer of *Cromwel*'s, told the King, after he had observ'd his double Dealing with his Majesty

Majesty, and the Parliament, *That* Cromwel *was a Villain, and would destroy him in a short time, if he was not prevented*; and, finding he had been made a Tool of to impose upon the King, threw up his Commission; which shews that *Cromwel* was so exquisite a Hypocrite, that his own Officers, and most intimate Friends, could not dive into his Designs, till it was out of their Power to frustrate them. Nor do I think it any great Reflection on his Majesty or his Friends, that he was imposed on by the most artful Impostor that ever appeared in the World: A Man, who was under no manner of Restraint, either from Honour or Conscience, or who had the least Spark of Compassion or Humanity in his Nature.

A.D. 1647 — 23 *Car.* I.

Cromwel acknowledged to be a Villain by his own Officers.

And now, the Mask being thrown off, the Agitators in the Army began to exclaim against the King and those about him openly. Colonel *Harrison*, in one of his Preachments to the Officers at *Putney*, about the Beginning of *November*, said, *He had something that lay heavy on his Spirits, in relation to the King and the Cavaliers; declaring, that the King was a Man of Blood, and therefore their Engagements to him were cancelled, and he ought to be prosecuted.* The Agitators of nine Regiments, and the General's Life-Guard, published a Narrative the same Day of the like Import: And when this had not the Effect they expected (to induce his Majesty to fly beyond Sea) they caused Reports to be spread, that his Majesty's Life was in Danger from the Levellers, a new Sect that had lately arisen in the Army, who were for dividing the Wealth of the Kingdom equally among the People, and suffering no Distinctions in the Commonwealth: And from these and other

The Army openly declare their Design of prosecuting the King.

*A.D.*1647 Reports of the like Nature, his Majeſty was at length induced to believe he ſhould be aſſaſſinated, if he did not ſuddenly make his Eſcape. Having conferred therefore with Mr. *Aſhburnham* upon the Matter, the King, on *Thurſday* the Tenth of *November*, between Eight and Nine in the Evening, went from *Hampton-Court*, thro' a private Door in the Park, where there was no Centinel, and croſſing the *Thames* in a Boat prepared for him, went over to *Thames-Ditton*, where Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *Legg*, were waiting with Horſes for him: They rode South-Weſt through that Part of *Hampſhire* which leads to *New-Foreſt*; and being paſs'd the Danger of Guards and Horſe-Quarters, his Majeſty aſked Mr. *Aſhburnham*, where the Ship lay he had provided for his Embarkation; to which *Aſhburnham*, it ſeems, did not give a ſatisfactory Anſwer; either he was diſappointed in getting a Ship, or the Maſter he agreed with had failed him, as *Legg* and *Berkley* apprehended; for they were neither of them conſulted concerning the Place his Majeſty ſhould reſort to: But however that was, his Majeſty finding himſelf unprovided to proſecute his firſt Intentions of going beyond Sea, directed them to carry him to *Titchfield*, a Seat of the Earl of *Southampton* in that Neighbourhood, and inhabited only by the Lady his Mother, with a ſmall Family; where he propoſed to remain concealed till other Meaſures could be taken for his Security or Eſcape. His Majeſty being hoſpitably entertained at the Lady *Southampton*'s, after he had refreſh'd himſelf, it was conſidered, that he could not long continue there undiſcovered; and therefore *Aſhburnham* propoſed

23 *Car.* I.

The King eſcapes from *Hampton-Court.*

His Majeſty comes to *Titchfield.*

poſed his going over to the *Iſle of Wight*, of which Colonel *Hammond*, a near Relation of Dr. *Hammond*'s, one of the King's Chaplains, was Governor: To which his Majeſty agreed, provided *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham* firſt went over, and ſounded how the Colonel ſtood affected, and whether he would promiſe his Majeſty Protection, or at leaſt give him an Opportunity of tranſporting himſelf on the other Side of the Water; without which, they were expreſly charged, not to let *Hammond* know where the King was: Accordingly the two Gentlemen went over to the Iſland; and having broke the Matter to the Governor, he appear'd at firſt in a great Conſternation, and ſaid, they had undone him if they had brought the King into the Iſland; and if they had not, he deſired his Majeſty might not come thither: But, after ſome time, recovering himſelf, the Colonel ſaid, ſince his Majeſty had made Choice of him as a Perſon of Honour and Honeſty, to lay this great Truſt upon, he would not deceive his Expectations: But when he found the Gentlemen were not ſatisfied with this general Anſwer, he aſked where the King was; to which they made no other Anſwer, than that they would go and acquaint his Majeſty with what he ſaid; and if he were ſatisfied with it, they would return again: The Colonel reply'd, *Herbert* might go, but *Aſhburnham* ſhould ſtay with him; which, when *Aſhburnham* refuſed, *Hammond* ſaid he would engage to perform whatever his Majeſty could expect from a Man of Honour and Honeſty. Whereupon *Aſhburnham* ſaid, they could expect no more; and taking *Hammond*, and *Basket* Governor of *Cowes*, along with them, they returned to *Titchfield*; where

A.D. 1647
23 Car. I.

*A.D.*1647 23 *Car.* I. being arriv'd, *Aſhburnham* left the other three below Stairs, and went up to the King, and acquainted him what they had done: To which the King reply'd, *What, have you brought* Hammond *with you? Oh* Jack, *you have undone me!* At which *Aſhburnham* was ſo mov'd, that he offer'd to go down and kill *Hammond*; but the King would not ſuffer it, and ſaid, there was now nothing to be done, but to go through the Way he had forc'd him into, and leave the Iſſue to God; and ſending for *Hammond* up, he received him with all the Chearfulneſs imaginable: On the other hand, *Hammond* made the King ſtill greater Promiſes of Fidelity and Service, than he had done to the two Gentlemen; and his Majeſty going with him to the *Iſle of Wight*, was lodg'd in *Carisbrook-Caſtle*, where he was for ſome time treated with the Reſpect due to a Soveraign Prince. However, *Hammond* ſoon acquainted his Patron *Cromwel*, that the King was in his Cuſtody; whereupon that General went immediately to the Houſe of Commons, and communicated the Advice he had receiv'd; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that Col. *Hammond* was ſo honeſt a Man, and ſo devoted to their Service, that they need not fear his being corrupted by any Man living; and therefore they need be in no Pain for the King's Eſcape.

The King comes to the *Iſle of Wight*, and is made Priſoner by *Hammond* the Governor.

Cromwel, at this time, had ſuch an Influence in the Houſe, that he did in a manner dictate all their Reſolutions; no Man durſt oppoſe his Schemes there; but the Spirit he had rais'd among the Agitators of the Army, gave him a great deal of Trouble: He had made uſe of theſe Men to petition and even force the Parliament into a Compliance with his

Cromwel in Danger from the Agitators he had rais'd.

his Measures. They were a kind of Republick in the Army, which he had erected to oppose the Parliament; suggesting to them, That they had as good a Right to reform and settle Religion and Government as their Masters; That the natural Rights of the meanest Men were equal to those of the greatest, and that Governors were no longer to be obeyed, than they studied the general Good of every Individual, of which they were Judges. These Maxims had been of great Use to *Cromwel*, in subduing his Enemies in the Parliament; but when the Agitators began to put them in practice against himself and their own Officers, and to take upon them to examine and censure their Conduct, it soon appear'd how destructive these Principles were to all manner of Order and Government; and that however Republican Notions might be for the Advantage of a State, a monarchical Government only was proper for an Army: For these Men, from the high Opinion they were taught to have of their natural Rights, immediately began to conceive that all Mankind ought to be on the Level, and that the Authority their Superiors claim'd was a Usurpation on the Liberties of a Free People; from whence they obtain'd the Name of Levellers; and in pursuance of these Notions, they enter'd into Confederacies and Associations, and actually made Propositions to the Parliament, as well as to their own Generals, for introducing an Equality among all Men; which, when they found oppos'd by their Officers, they appointed a general Rendezvous at *Hounslow-heath*, in order to put an end to all Distinctions among Men: Of which *Cromwel* having Advice by some Spies he sent amongst them, and being supported

A.D. 1647
23 *Car.* I.

The levelling Doctrine introduc'd.

A.D. 1647 — 23 *Car.* I.

ſupported on this Occaſion by the Parliament againſt the Army, as he had formerly been by the Army againſt the Parliament, he appeared unexpectedly at the Rendezvous at *Hounſlow-heath*, at the Head of ſome Troops he could rely on; and, having demanded the Reaſon of the Agitators aſſembling ſuch Numbers of Soldiers there without his Order, and receiv'd ſome inſolent Anſwers from them, he knock'd down two or three of the forwardeſt with his own Hand, and then charging them briſkly with the Troops he brought with him, he wounded ſome and took others Priſoners; and, having hang'd up as many as he ſaw fit upon the Place, order'd ſeveral more to be ſent to *London* and try'd for their Mutiny and Rebellion in a more ſolemn manner, and thereby ſo reſtrain'd this Levelling Spirit, that it ſcarce ever broke out again to his prejudice during his own Life; at leaſt, it is generally agreed, that the Impoſtor who rais'd it beſt knew how to check and keep it under.

Cromwel ſuppreſſes the Levellers.

The K's Tryal reſolv'd on by *Cromwel, &c.*

The Army being again reduc'd under the Command of their Superiors, a Council was held by *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, *Harriſon*, and other Field-Officers who were moſt remarkable for their Malice againſt the King, how they ſhould diſpoſe of his Majeſty; and having firſt ſought the Lord, as they call'd it, by Faſting, Prayers and Preachments, in which *Cromwel* and other inſpir'd Officers bore their Parts, it was at length agreed, *That the King ſhould be publickly Arraign'd and Try'd as a Traytor to the State*: But as Things were not ripe for ſuch a Declaration, the Reſolution was yet carefully concealed; and, to render the King more obnoxious to the People,

Crom-

Cromwel by his Influence procur'd the Parliament to ſend his Majeſty four ſuch Propoſitions as he knew he would never agree to, or, if he did, would amount to an Abdication of his Throne. *A.D.*1647 — 23 *Car.* I.

Theſe Propoſitions being drawn up in the Nature of Bills for the Royal Aſſent, were tranſmitted to his Majeſty in the *Iſle of Wight*, in the Month of *December*, and were of the following Tenor: By the firſt, he was to confeſs that he begun the War againſt the Parliament, and was guilty of all the Blood and Devaſtation that had enſued thereupon: By the ſecond, he was to diſſolve the Government of the Church by Biſhops, *&c.* and to tranſfer all the Lands of the Church to ſuch Uſes as the Parliament directed, and leave the future Settlement of the Church to their Councils: By the third, he was to transfer the Power of the Militia, and Forces by Sea and Land, to them, with the Diſpoſal of the publick Money, and to authoriſe them to diſpoſe of all Offices in the State; and laſtly, he was to deliver up all the Royaliſts, his Friends and Adherents, to their Mercy. With the Commiſſioners, who carried down theſe Propoſitions, went other Commiſſioners from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who openly declar'd before his Majeſty, that they were ſo prejudicial to Religion, to the Crown, the Union and Intereſt of both Kingdoms, and contrary to their former Engagements, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſolemnly declared their Diſſent.

Propoſitions ſent his Majeſty to the *Iſle of Wight* by the Parliament.

The *Scots* treat with the King.

The King, finding that the Parliament would accept of no other Terms than his relinquiſhing all his Authority into their Hands, the Subver-

A. D1647 Subverſion of Religion, and the Ruin of his Friends, began to liſten to the *Scots*, who at this Time promis'd to levy an Army for his Reſtoration, on much leſs ſhocking Conditions than the Faction at *Weſtminſter* requir'd; which, whether the Parliament had any Intelligence of, or purely to ſhew their Reſentment that his Majeſty did not comply with their Propoſitions, he was immediately made cloſe Priſoner, and only Mr. *Herbert* and an inferiour Servant or two permitted to attend him; which Uſage of their Soveraign the People of the *Iſle of Wight* ſo deteſted, that they aſſembled in a Body at *Newport*, their chief Town, being led by Captain *Burleigh*, a Native of the Iſland, and declar'd they would reſcue the King from this baſe Captivity; but the King's Servants, who were juſt diſmiſs'd, being aſſur'd they would be ſoon over-power'd by the regular Forces, perſuaded the People to diſperſe and return home; and poor *Burleigh* was afterwards try'd by Judge *Wild* for High-Treaſon againſt the King, of which being convicted and condemned, he was executed (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) with all the Circumſtances of Barbarity and Cruelty.

23 *Car.* I.

The King made cloſe Priſoner.

The People of the *Iſle of Wight* riſe to reſcue him.

End of the Twenty-firſt Volume.

THE

TABLE

OF THE

XXIſt VOLUME.

A

ABBOT, *Archbiſhop, kills a Man* 34
His Character 153
Adderton-Moor, *the Rebels defeated there* 348
Agitators, Cromwel *in danger from them* 432
Alliance with Holland 83
Amboyna, *the Barbarity of the* Dutch *there* 48
Anne, *Queen, of King* James I. *dies* 5
Arminianiſm, *one of the Commons religious Grievances* 124
Armies disbanded by Charles I. 240
Army, Oliverian, *claim a Share in the Government* 414
Declare they will not be disbanded 416
The Army ſeize the King at Holmby 418
Conteſt between the Parliament and Army about the King 421
They impeach 12 *of the leading Members* 422

Several of the Members desert to the Army 423
Seven Lords impeach'd. The Lord Mayor, &c. committed for petitioning against the Army 424
The Army openly declare their Design of prosecuting the King 429, 434
Ashton, *Lord, routed* 398
Association by the Parliament against the King 346
Assembly of Divines first formed 349
Their Character ib.
Audley, *Lord, convicted of Sodomy, and of assisting one to ravish his Lady* 141

B

BACON, *Lord Chancellor, convicted of Bribery* 18
His Death 100
Baddock-Down, *the Rebels defeated there* 337
Bankrupts, how dealt with 63
Bancroft, *Archbishop, his Character* 154
Banbury *taken* 327
Bastard Child deemed murdered, if the Death be concealed 68
Bastwick's *Trial* 170
His triumphant Entry into the City 236
Battle of Edghill 316
Battle of Stratton 343
Battle of Newbury 364
Battle of Marston-Moor 376
Battle, the second at Newbury 381
Battle of Naseby 390
Bigamy, Felony 62
Bishops disabled from transferring their Lands to the Crown ib.
The Commons resolve they ought to have no Votes in Parliament, or Offices conferred on them 245

They and the Judges are impeach'd 237
An Act for depriving them of their Votes 249
Twelve of them impeached of High-Treason for asserting their Rights 250
An Act passed for excluding them from the House of Lords 255
Bohemia, *the Palatine possesses himself of that Crown* 6
Book-Debts, the Statute relating thereto 66
Brentford, *the Rebels beat from thence* 328
Bristol, *Earl, committed* 45
Charged with High-Treason 92
Bristol *surrendered to the Royalists* 354
Besieged by Fairfax 393
Surrendered in four Days ib.
Bucks, *Duke, his Account of the Prince's Voyage to* Spain 43
The Duke charg'd with a Conspiracy against the King 45
His Intrigue with the Queen of France 74
A Charge against him by way of Queries 88
The Commons avow their Proceedings against him 91
He is impeached by the Commons 94
The King declares his Innocence on his own Knowledge ib.
Commons Address to remove him 96
Prepares to go to the Relief of Rochelle *in Person* 121
He is stabbed by Felton ib.
Burton's *Trial* 170
His triumphant Entry into the City 236
Burnet, *Bishop, justifies the Conduct of King* Charles I. 296

C

CADIZ, *the Expedition thither* 84
The Reason of the ill Success of it ib.
Carew, *Sir* Alexander, *executed* 383

CHARLES, *Prince, Articles of Marriage between him and the Infanta of* Spain 4
He and the Duke of Bucks *viſit* Madrid 35
Reſolved to break the Match 37
CHARLES I, *his Acceſſion to the Crown* 73
He is married to the Princeſs Henrietta *of* France ib.
Money raiſed in his Reign by way of Loan 83
Money raiſed by Knighthood 85
The King crowned 86
The Adminiſtration cenſured 88
His Majeſty reſents it ib.
He declares he will protect his Servants 89
He declares the Duke of Bucks's *Innocence on his own Knowledge* 94
Money raiſed by various Means 97
The King impriſons ſeveral mutinous Members 129
He declares his Reaſons for diſſolving the Parliament, taking Tonnage, &c. 130
Money raiſed by extraordinary Ways 136
Neceſſity put the King upon raiſing Money by theſe Means 137
Inſtances of the Regard the King had to the Laws in other Caſes 138
Henry VIII. *and Queen* Elizabeth *had not the ſame Regard to them* ib.
The King has the Small-Pox 145
He goes to Scotland *to be crowned* 150
Dr. Laud *made Archbiſhop of* Canterbury 152
The King betray'd by his Miniſters 182
He raiſes an Army to reduce the Scots *to their Duty* 185
Marches towards the North 186
The Scots *and* Engliſh *Malecontents enter into a Conſpiracy againſt the King at* York ib.
The Earl of Holland *retires before the* Scots *without ſtriking a Stroke* 187

CHARLES I, *the* Engliſh *Generals in the Intereſt of the* Scots 188
The King reſolves to call a Parliament 195
His Friends advance large Sums for his Service 196
His Speech to the Parliament 203
Sir Henry Vane's *Treachery ruins his Affairs, and occaſions a Diſſolution* 210
The Joy of the Faction upon this Rupture 211
The Perſons that formed the Cabinet Council 215
Some of them betray'd his Majeſty ib.
The Citizens refuſe to lend him 100,000 *l.* 216
The Nobility, &c. *raiſe him* 300,000 *l.* ib.
An Army raiſed ib.
The King marches with the Army to York 217
The Scots *corrupt ſome of his Officers and Soldiers* 218
Biſhop Burnet's *Account of the* Scots *Invaſion* ib.
The inſolent Petitions of the Scots 224
Of the City of London ib.
The Peers aſſembled at York ib.
The King requires their Advice 225
A Treaty with the Scots ib.
The King admits ſeveral factious Lords of his Council 241
They embarraſs his Affairs ib.
He offers to redreſs every Grievance 242
But the Commons are not to be ſatisfied 243
The King permits Privy Counſellors to be examined againſt Strafford 247
He is threaten'd by the Mob 231
The Queen prevails on the King to give the Royal Aſſent to the Bill of Attainder 232

CHARLES I. *submits to beg the Earl's Life of the Parliament in vain* 233
The great Officers of State resign, and are succeeded by the Faction 235
A Confession that the King had done all that was demanded of him 236
He goes to Scotland 238
He parts with all his Prerogatives there 241
Mr. Hyde, *&c. come into the King's Measures* 245
The King's Answer to the Commons Remonstrance, omitted by Rushworth 247
He charges the Lord Kimbolton, *and five of the Commons, with High-Treason* 251
He is driven from Whitehall 254
The Commons Petition for the Militia and Forts to be put into their Hands 255
They prevail on the King to pass the Bill for excluding the Bishops from the House of Lords ib.
They attempt to get Prince Charles *into their Hands* 256
They raise the Militia by their own Authority 257
They seize on the Royal Navy 258
Pass an Ordinance for taking the Militia out of the King's Hands ib.
The King moves Northwards 260
He has neither Forces nor Guards ib.
The Faction insist he should transfer the Regal Power to them 274
He arrives at York 275
The Faction desire him to put himself into their Hands 276
He raises a Guard for his Person 279
The Faction declare his Adherents Traytors, and that the King was but the People's Trustee ib.

CHARLES I, *the Substance of his Answer to the Remonstrance*, &c. 280
He is charged with three Things principally by the Faction 284
Some Answer to the Charge ib.
The King necessitated to take extraordinary Ways to raise Money 286
The Faction prevent a Union between him and his People ib.
Betray'd by those he trusted 287
The same Ways of raising Money practised in former Reigns ib.
All of them disclaimed in this Reign, and Acts passed to prevent the like 288
The Petition of the Army to the King and Parliament 289
His Majesty approves the Petition 292
Rushworth *suppresses it* 293
Bishop Burnet *justifies the King's Conduct* 296
Answer to the Charge of the King's being more arbitrary than any of his Ancestors 299
Instances of a more arbitrary Government, both in the Reigns of Elizabeth *and* Henry VIII. 300
The King always acted according to the Opinions of the Judges 301
The King had a Majority of the Parliament on his Side, and the Faction fought against both 302
He takes Measures for his Defence 305
He attempts in vain to recover the Navy 307
He fails in a Project to surprize Hull 308
His Standard erected at Nottingham 311
The Strength of his Army and General Officers 314

The

The King endeavours to gain the Scots 330
He is betray'd by Hamilton 338
The Earls of Holland, Bedford, *and* Clare, *desert him, and return to the Rebels* 365
The King leaves Oxford *and goes to* Wales 378
CHARLES II. *born* 139
Chelsea-College *founded* 65
Cherryton-Down *Fight* 374
Church, the State of it in the Time of Charles I. 154
Church of England, *the Service abolished* 384
Clubmen in the West 397
COMMONS, *a Protest in Vindication of their Privileges.* See Parliament 25
Addres to remove the Duke of Bucks 96
Cotton, *Sir* Robert, *his Death* 142
Correction Houses to be provided in every County 65
COVENANT *and Solemn League agreed on between the* English *and* Scots *Presbyterians* 366
The Parliament and all under their Power take it 369
CROMWEL, *some Account of him* 359
He imitates Mahomet 368
Difference between him and the Earl of Manchester 382
He is made General 387
Defeats the King's Forces at Islip-Bridge 388
His Hypocrisy 417
He is discovered, and escapes narrowly being committed to the Tower ib.
He expresses great Loyalty to his Majesty 419
He pretends to serve the King 425
His perfidious Practices 427
He is acknowledged to be a Villain by his own Officers 429

CROMWEL *in Danger from the Agitators he had raiſed* 432
He ſuppreſſes the Levellers 434
He reſolves on the King's Trial ib.

D

DERING, *Sir* Edward, *his violent Speech concerning the Danger of Religion* 235
Digby, *Lord, his unſucceſsful Attempt to join* Montroſe 395
Dort, Engliſh *Divines ſent to the Synod there* 5
Drunkenneſs, the Penalty 65
Dutch *expel the* Engliſh *from the* Spice Iſlands 48
Fall upon the Spaniſh *Fleet in the* Downs 197

E

EDGHILL *Battle* 316
Elizabeth, *Princeſs, born* 164
Elliot, *Sir* John, *the great Incendiary, ſome Account of him* 81
He endeavours to improve the Breach between the King and Commons 89
He and Diggs *ſent to the* Tower 94
They are ſet at Liberty 95
He and the ſeditious Members proſecuted 132
Engliſh *and* Scots *Rebels join* 375
Differences between them 400
Eſſex *made General of the Rebels Forces* 306
He retires from Thame *towards* London 349
He devotes himſelf to the Faction 361
The King marches againſt him into Cornwal 379
His Foot compelled to lay down their Arms, Eſſex *embarking for* London 380
He dies 412
Exciſe firſt impoſed by the Rebels 374
Exeter *taken by the Royaliſts* 367
Taken by the Rebels 403

F

FAIRFAX *made General* 387
He returns in triumph to London, *the War being ended* 408
He expreſſes great Loyalty for his Majeſty 419
Fiennes, *Colonel, condemned for Cowardiſe* 370
Finch, *Lord-Keeper, flies beyond Sea* 239
Foreſts, an Act for fixing the Bounds ib.
France, *War declared againſt that Kingdom* 103
The Engliſh *ſail to the Relief of* Rochelle 104
A Peace with France 131
Free-Will, Biſhop Laud *treated as a Papiſt for maintaining it* 145

G

GAME, *the Penalty of taking it* 63, 66
Glouceſter *relieved by the Earl of* Eſſex 363
Goring *defeated by* Fairfax 392
He goes beyond Sea 398
Grenvill, *Sir* Bevil, *killed* 352
Grotius, *&c. condemned in* Holland 5
Guſtavus Adolphus *invades* Germany 140
He is killed 143

H

HACKNEY *Coaches firſt uſed in* London 164
Hamilton, *Marquis, charged with being in a Plot, but the King don't credit it* 142
Hamilton, *Duke, impriſoned* 371
Hampden's *Trial for Non-payment of Ship-money* 173
He is killed 348
Hampton-Court, *the King eſcapes from thence* 430
Henry, *Prince, born* 217

Hereford *relieved by the King* 393
High-Commiſſion, *and* Star-Chamber, *Acts for aboliſhing thoſe Courts* 237
Holmby, *the Army ſeize the King there* 418
Hopton-Heath, *the Rebels defeated there* 339
Hopton, *Lord, routed near* Torrington 398
Disbands his Forces, and goes beyond Sea ib.
Horncaſtle *Fight* 368
Hothams *are executed* 383
Hotham, *Sir* John, *refuſes to admit the King into* Hull 277
Hull, *the King refuſed Admittance* ib.
The King fails in a Project to ſurprize it 308
Hyde's *Speech againſt the Judges* 237
Still an Enemy to the Court ib.

J

JAMES I. *viſits* Scotland 2
He engages in the religious Diſputes in Holland 4
A Calviniſt *in Doctrine* 5
He is cenſured without Reaſon for not ſupporting his Son on the Throne of Bohemia 8
The Charge of his being Popiſhly affected ridiculous 9
He ſolicits a Toleration for the French *Proteſtants* 12
Monopolies revoked 17
He takes the Proteſt of the Commons out of the Journal-Book 26
Diſſolves the Parliament 27
His Proclamation thereupon ib.
Some Members ſent to the Tower 30
Reſolved to Addreſs the King to begin a War with Spain 44
The King heſitates about the War 46
Six thouſand Men ſent to Flanders ib.

No Article in favour of Popery in the Treaty with France 50
The King taken ill 51
Attended by Biſhop Williams ib.
His Death 52
His Perſon and Character ib.
His Religion Calviniſm, *except as to Church Government* 53
He cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated ib.
His peaceable Diſpoſition ib.
The Royal Navy increaſed by him ib.
Foreign Commerce advanced 54
Plantations in America *and* Ireland *ſettled* ib.
He paid Queen Elizabeth's *Debts* ib.
He ſpent leſs Money than any of his Predeceſſors ib.
Raiſed Money no otherwiſe than they had done ib.
Redreſſed all Grievances ib.
His relaxing the Reigns of Government, the Occaſion of his Son's and his own Misfortunes 55
He was too indulgent to his Favourites ib.
His Character ſummed up ib.
His Title 56
Objections to it ib.
His Marriage and Iſſue 61
Peers created in this Reign 68
James II, *born* 158
Infanta of Spain, *the Treaty broke off between her and Prince* Charles 38
Ireland, *a Ceſſation of Arms there* 365
Iriſh *Peers, a Petition againſt creating them* 24
Judges, Sir Edward Littleton *votes againſt them* 240
Several impeached 237
Juxon, *Biſhop, made Lord-Treaſurer* 165

KNIGHT-

K

KNIGHTHOOD, *Money raiſed thereby* 85
An Act againſt it 239

L

LAMB, *Dr. the City fined for his Murder* 123
Landſdown *Fight* 351
LAUD, *Dr. made a Biſhop* 35
He is advanced 100
Choſen Chancellor of Oxford 134
His Character 135
He is treated as a Papiſt and Arminian *for maintaining Free-Will* 145
He is made Archbiſhop of Canterbury 152
His Character ib.
He claims a Right of viſiting the Univerſities 167
The Rabble attempt to break into Lambeth-Houſe 214
Declaration of the Scots *Commiſſioners againſt him* 237
He is impeached 239
Articles againſt him 246
He is executed 384
Leighton, *Dr. puniſhed for a Libel on the Government* 135
Leiceſter *taken by the King* 389
Levelling Doctrine introduced 433
Cromwel *ſuppreſſes the Levellers* 434
Lilburne *ſentenced to be whipped* 172
Afterwards a Colonel in the Rebels Army ib.
Limitation Statute 67
Litchfield-Cloſe *taken by the Rebels* 339
Surrenders 408
Loan propoſed 98
People preſſed and impriſoned for refuſing it 99
London *in a great Conſternation* 326

MAN-

M

MANWARING's *Sentence for asserting the King's Power of raising Money without a Parliament* 116
Manchester, *Differences between him and* Cromwel 382
Mary, *Princess of* Orange, *born* 142
Marston-Moor *Battle* 376
Masquerade given by the Inns of Court 160
Another by the City ib.
Massacre, Irish 242
Middlesex, *Earl, disgraced* 45
Monopolies revoked 17, 47
Money raised by various means 97, 136
Sibthorp's *Sermon thereupon* 99
Montrose, *Earl, comes over to the King* 226
Offers to raise Forces for the King 338
Reduces great Part of Scotland *for the King* 381
The King endeavours to join him in vain 393
He is defeated 395
The Scots *extort an Order for him to lay down his Arms* 406
Muscovy, *Troops sent thither* 143

N

NANTWICH, *Sir* Thomas Fairfax *defeats the Royalists near that Place* 372
Naseby *Battle* 390
New-River, *an Act for cutting it* 65
Newburn *Defeat* 222
Newbury *Battle* 364
Newark *Siege raised by Prince* Rupert 372
Newcastle, *Marquis, goes beyond Sea* 377
Newbury *second Battle* 381
Newcastle, *the* Scots *carry the King thither* 405
Northumberland, *Earl, the Duke of* York, *and the rest of the King's Children committed to his Care* 407

O

OATHS *to the Government* 65
Ordinance, Self-denying, introduced 382
OXFORD *Treaty* 341
Several Lords go over thither to the King 362
Members of Parliament ſummoned to meet there 373
The Scots *get an Order from the King for the Surrender of that Place and the reſt of his Garriſons to the Parliament* 407
The Colleges ſav'd by the Capitulation of Oxford 408

P

PAcification *Act* 239
Palatine, Prince, the King's Son poſſeſſes himſelf of the Crown of Bohemia 6
He is proſcribed 8
His Forces defeated in Bohemia ib.
Palatinate, 12,000 *Men embarked for that Place* 50
Moſt of the Engliſh *Army periſh in their Ships, being refuſed Entrance into* France *or* Holland 51
Palatine, *Prince, dies* 143
His Iſſue by Princeſs Elizabeth ib.
Papiſts, their Diſabilities, &c. 64
PARLIAMENT, *at the Acceſſion of* Charles I. *fall upon their Grievances* 76
They ſtrike chiefly at the Duke of Bucks ib.
Proceedings in the Commons againſt Dr. Montague *the King's Chaplain* 77
Tonnage and Poundage refuſed to be ſettled for more than one Year 78
A Complaint againſt the Duke of Bucks 80
The Parliament diſſolved ib.
A Proteſt of the Commons thereupon ib.
A ſecond Parliament ſummoned 86

PAR-

PARLIAMENT, *a Member expelled for reflecting on the Puritans* 88
The Parliament diſſolved 96
Their Remonſtrance, and the King's Anſwer 97
A third Parliament called 107
The Commons fall upon their Grievances 111
Reſolution of the Commons in relation to Liberty and Taxes 113
They Addreſs for a full Anſwer to the Petition of Right 117
The King anſwers it as they deſired 118
The Commons ſtill ſhew themſelves diſcontented ib.
Frame a peeviſh Remonſtrance ib.
The King's Anſwer to it 119
Another Remonſtrance againſt the King's taking Tonnage and Poundage 120
The King's Speech concerning the Petition of Right and Tonnage ib.
He deſires they would ſettle Tonnage and Poundage on him 124
They go upon their religious Grievances, eſpecially Arminianiſm ib.
They vote Religion to be in Danger 125
A Tumult in the Houſe of Commons 127
A Proteſt of the Commons 128
They refuſe to admit the Black-Rod 129
The mutinous Members impriſoned ib.
Sir John Elliot, *and the ſeditious Members proſecuted* 132
Refuſe to give Security for their good Behaviour ib.
Judgment againſt them 133
The King's Speech to the Parliament 203
Petitions againſt Grievances 205
Debates thereupon ib.
Elections influenced 227

PARLIAMENT, *the Heads of the Faction in both Houſes* 228
The King's Speech at the opening of the Parliament, 1640 229
The Parliament releaſe Burton, Prynn, *&c.* 231
The Commons inſiſt on the King's taking their Advice whom he ſhould truſt 232
Members expelled who were concerned in Monopolies ib.
The Reſolution concerning Ship-money 236
Sir Edward Littleton *votes againſt the Judges* 240
Members terrified join the Faction ib.
The King's Servants afraid to oppoſe them ib.
A Member expelled for reflecting on the Scots 244
An Act for Triennial Parliaments 246
The Lords mobbed into a Compliance with the Commons 231
The Uſurpation of the Commons 234
The Commons inſiſt upon a Guard, and a General of their own chooſing 247
The Commons oblige his Majeſty to turn out the Lieutenant of the Tower 249
They encourage the Tumults ib.
The King charges the Lord Kimbolton *and five of the Commons with High-Treaſon* 251
Proceedings of the Commons thereupon 252
The Attorney-General proſecuted for exhibiting a Charge againſt the five Members 254
The Commons Petition for the Militia and Forts to be put into their Hands, and get Conyers *made Governour of the* Tower 255

PARLIAMENT, *they attempt to get Prince* Charles *into their Hands* 256
Raiſe the Militia by their own Authority 257
Seize on the Royal Navy 258
Paſs an Ordinance for taking the Militia out of the King's Hands ib.
The Faction put a Force upon the two Houſes as well as the King 265
Practices to influence the Houſes, confeſſed by Rapin 266
A Majority againſt altering the Government confeſſed ib.
Confeſſed to be the Intereſt of the Faction to ſubvert the Government 267
The wicked Means by which the Faction gained a Majority, and that the two Houſes were influenced by the Scotiſh *Army, confeſſed by* Rapin 269
The Houſes influenced by Tumults 270
Fears and Jealouſies promoted by the Faction 271
Their Lying confeſſed by Rapin ib.
Conceſſions in the Remonſtrance itſelf, which ſhew the Faction to be notorious Rebels and Traitors 273
January 11, Hull *ſeized by the Faction* 276
They ſeize the Publick Money ib.
They draw out the Militia againſt the King 278
The Parliament notoriouſly break their Promiſes with the King 288
The King had a Majority of the Parliament on his Side, and the Faction fought againſt both 302
The Faction declare that the ſupreme Power was lodged in them 304

PARLIAMENT *justify levying War against the King's Person* 304
Raise an Army besides the Militia and Money 305
The Earl of Essex *their General* 306
The Faction seize the Duties of Tonnage, &c. 308
Make Use of the Forces and Money raised for Ireland 309
The principal Officers in the Rebels Army ib.
The Tyranny and Cruelty of the Faction 311
The Faction cast up a Line for the Security of London 315
They invite the Scots *to invade* England *in their Favour* 326
Raise Money and Troops by their own Authority 330
Foreign Powers encourage them 331
An Association by the Parliament against the King 346
The Faction send a solemn Embassy to the Scots *to invite them to invade* England 355
They raise two new Armies 358
The Parliament, and all under their Power take the Covenant 369
Make a new Broad Seal ib.
Seize the Regalia and Communion-Plate in Westminster-Abby ib.
They hang up one of the King's Messengers ib.
Members of Parliament summoned to meet at Oxford 373
A Letter to the Scots, *to shew them that the Faction at* Westminster *were no Parliament* 373
Resolutions of the Parliament of Oxford *against the* Scots 374
Against the Faction at Westminster 375

PARLIAMENT, *the Self-denying Ordinance introduced* 382
The Faction refuse a personal Treaty 400
A Contest between the Parliament and Army about the King 421
The Speaker and several Members desert to the Army 423
Propositions sent his Majesty to the Isle of Wight *by the Parliament* 435
Parr, *an ancient* Shropshire *Man brought to Court* 164
Peace, Artifices of the Faction to prevent it 356
The Women Petition for Peace 357
Some of them murdered by the Soldiers near the Parliament-House ib.
The King sends Propositions thereof to the Parliament 399
Peers, a Petition against creating Irish 24
Created in the Reign of King James 68
They complain that some of their Members were not summoned to Parliament 92
Pennington *and the Rabble petition against Episcopacy* 238
Their Knavery in getting Petitions signed 239
The Rebel Lord-Mayor made Governor of the Tower 363
Pigeons, the Penalty of taking them 63
Portsmouth, Goring *the Governor declares for the King, but is forced to surrender* 310
Prerogative, Queen Elizabeth *and* Henry VIII. *carried it much higher than King* James 31
Presbyterians no less Enemies to the King than the Independants 336
The Scots *threaten to join the Rebels, if Presbytery was not established* 340

Presbyterians, Propositions made the King both by the Englisſh *and* Scots *at* Newcaſtle 409
Prince Charles, *Articles of Marriage between him and the Infanta* 4
Remarks on the Letter ſaid to be written by him to the Pope 38
The Duke of Bucks *Account of his Voyage to* Spain 43
A Treaty between him and a Daughter of France 45
Prynn's *Trial in the* Star-Chamber 158
His Sentence 159
His Trial 170
Pryn, *&c. releaſed by the Parliament* 231
Their triumphant Entry into the City 236
Puritans, a Character of them 147
Pym's *Speech againſt Grievances* 231
The Incendiary dies 370

Q

QUEEN *of* Charles I. *arrives in* England 74
Her Family and Prieſts reſide at Somerſet-Houſe 75
Her Popiſh Servants ſent home 103
She and the Princeſs of Orange *ſent to* Holland 256
The Queen arrives with Arms, &c. *in* Yorkſhire 338
She is convoy'd to Oxford 354
She goes to Exeter 375
She is forced to embark for France *with the Princeſs* Henrietta, *a new-born Infant* 379

R

RALEGH, *Sir* Walter, *his Expedition to* Guiana 2
He is ſent Priſoner to the Tower *on his Return* 3

RALEGH *beheaded* 4
Ramſey *and* Rea, *a Combat appointed between them* 142
RAPIN's *Errors, as to King* James's *Title* 57
A Forgery of his 58
His Remarks on the Beginning of Charles I. *conſidered* 100
A Review of the twelve Years of Rapin's *Hiſtory before* 1640 198
A remarkable Conceſſion in him 200
He conceals the Treachery of Sir Henry Vane 213
Arguments uſed by him and the Faction in Defence of the Rebellion 260
He differs with the Faction in ſome Particulars, but they agree in the main 261
The Compilers contradict themſelves 268
The Writers of that Hiſtory contradict themſelves as to the Occaſion of the Rebellion ib.
The wicked Means by which the Faction gained a Majority, confeſſed by him 269
Confeſſed that the two Houſes were influenc'd by the Scotiſh *Army* ib.
The Lying of the Faction confeſſed by him 271
Farther Conceſſions in Rapin, *to the Diſadvantage of his Party* 332
He aſſerts falſly, that no Member can be proſecuted for Treaſon without the Conſent of the Houſe 333
He and the Faction diſagree about the fundamental Laws, or original Contract 334
Reading, *the King takes Poſſeſſion of it* 327
Beſieged by the Rebels 341
Surrendered 342
REBELLION *commences* 229
The Mob formed into regular Bodies of Soldiers by the Faction 230

Recognition Act 62
Remonſtrance of the Commons 19
Seditious 244
Rhee, *a Deſcent on that Iſle* 105
RIGHT, Petition of 114
The Commons unſatisfied with the King's Anſwer to it 116
They Addreſs him for a full Anſwer 117
He anſwers as they deſired 118
ROCHELLE, *the* Engliſh *fail to its Relief* 104
Are refuſed Admittance ib.
Another Fleet ſent to the Relief of it 121
The Earl of Lindſey *endeavours to relieve it in vain* 122
Roundway-Down *in* Wiltſhire, *Sir* William Waller *defeated there by the Royaliſts* 353
Royaliſts defeated by Sir William Waller *near* Worceſter 339
Rupert, *Prince, defeats a Detatchment of the Rebels at* Powick-Bridge 313
Relieves York 376

S

ST. John *made Solicitor-General* 241
SCOTS *diſcontented* 148
King Charles I. *goes to* Scotland *to be crowned there* 150
A Parliament held there 151
They unite with the Engliſh *Malecontents againſt the Government* 176
A Tumult on reading the Liturgy at Edinburgh 178
Suppoſed to be encouraged by the Miniſtry of Scotland 179
An Inſurrection againſt the Government there ib.
They erect a new Form of Government 181

SCOTS, *General Assembly sit after the King dissolved them, and take upon them to repeal Acts of Parliament* 183
Enter into a Conspiracy with the English *Malecontents* 184
They raise Forces, seize the King's Fortresses, &c. ib.
The King raises an Army to reduce them to their Duty 185
They enter into a Conspiracy with the English *Malecontents against the King at* York 186
The Earl of Holland *retires before them, without striking a Stroke* 187
The English *Generals in their Interest* 188
The Terms of a Treaty 189
Scots *do not perform the Treaty, but demand Aid of the* French, Dutch, *&c.* ib.
They ratify their Covenant, and all they had done in a General Assembly 191
They desire the French *King's Protection by a Letter under their Hands* 193
Their Declarations on the Invasion of England 216
They corrupt the King's Officers and Soldiers 218
Bishop Burnet's *Account of their Invasion* ib.
The Defeat at Newburn 222
Newcastle *abandon to them* ib.
Their insolent Petitions 224
A Treaty with them 225
Their Commissioners come to London 227
Their Declaration against Archbishop Laud, *and the Earl of* Strafford 237
Their insolent Demands 244
The King goes to Scotland 238
The Rebels invite the Scots *to invade* England *in their Favour* 326

SCOTS

SCOTS, *The* Scots *threaten to join them, if the King would not eſtabliſh Presbytery* 340
The Rebels ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to invite them to invade England 355
Scots *Rebels march into* England 371
A Letter to ſhew them that the Faction at Weſtminſter *were no Parliament* 373
Engliſh *and* Scots *Rebels join* 375
The Marquis of Montroſe *reduces great part of* Scotland *for the King* 381
Differences between the Engliſh *and* Scots *Rebels* 400
The Scots *make ſome Overtures of Accommodation with the King* 401
The French *Miniſter negotiates between them* ib.
The King comes to the Scotiſh *Army, who pretend to be ſurpriſed at it* 404
They carry him to Newcaſtle 405
They extort an Order to Montroſe *to lay down his Arms* 406
They get an Order from the King for the Surrender of Oxford, *and the reſt of his Garriſons to the Parliament* 407
The Scots *agree to deliver up the King for* 400,000 *l.* 410
Great Part of their Nation aſhamed of the infamous Bargain ib.
The Argyle *and* Hamilton *Faction Sharers in the Money* 411
They make the King a cloſe Priſoner 412
The Engliſh *Commiſſioners receive him of them* ib.
Scots *march into their own Country* ib.
They treat with the King 435

SEA, *Diſputes between* Grotius *and* Selden *concerning the Dominion of the narrow Seas* 165
The Dutch *pay* 30,000 *l.* per Ann. *for Leave to fiſh on the Coaſt, and promiſe an annual Tribute* 166
Sherfield *proſecuted for breaking Church-Windows* 146
SHIP-MONEY *firſt raiſed* 98
Demanded of the Port Towns 161
The City of London *petition againſt it* ib.
But ſubmit to the Impoſition ib.
It is demanded of every County in England 162
Brings in about 230,000 *l.* per Ann. ib.
Reſolutions of the Judges concerning Ship-money 167
Hampden's *Trial for Non-Payment of it* 173
Reſolution of the Commons concerning Ship-money 236
An Act againſt it 239
Spalatto, *Archbiſhop, turns Proteſtant* 1
Spice-Iſlands, *the Dutch expel the* Engliſh *from them* 48
Sports, Book of, Offence taken at it 156
The Reaſons for publiſhing it 157
Star-Chamber, *an Act for aboliſhing that Court* 237
Statutes in this Reign 62
Stabbing, Clergy taken away from this Offence ib.
Stolen Goods ſold or pawn'd in London, *the Owner may have them again* 63
STRAFFORD, *Earl, impeached by* Pym 233
He is committed to the Black-Rod 234
Sent to the Tower ib.
Privy Counſellors examined againſt him at his Trial 247

STRAFFORD, *the Commons turn their Impeachment into a Bill of Attainder* ib.
The Charge againſt him 248
The King's Speech to the Lords on the Occaſion ib.
The Rabble terrify the Lords 249
The King ſubmits to beg his Life of the Parliament in vain 233
He is executed 234
Stratton *Battle* 343
Swearing and Curſing, the Penalty 67

T

THAMES, *Act to make it navigable to* Oxford 68
Tompkins *and* Chaloner *executed* 346
Tonnage and Poundage granted to King James *for Life* 64
Tonnage, &c. *refuſed to be ſettled on King* Charles I. *for above a Year* 78
Torrington, *Lord* Hopton *routed near that Place* 398
Treaſure or Goods loſt, the Puniſhment for pretending to diſcover them by Witchcraft 63
Treaty of Uxbridge 384

V

VANE, *Sir* Henry, *treacherous to the King* 195
His Treachery ruins the King's Affairs, and occaſions a Diſſolution of Parliament 210
Villers *made Marquis of* Bucks, *&c.* 10
Marries a rich Heireſs 11
Univerſities, Archbiſhop Laud *claims a Right of viſiting them* 167
Uxbridge *Treaty* 384

W

WALLER's *Plot* 345
He is fined 10,000 *l.* 346

Waller,

Waller, *Sir* William, *is defeated by the King at* Cropredy-Bridge 378
War ended, and Fairfax *returns in triumph to* London 408
Wentworth, *Sir* Thomas, *comes over to the Court* 123
He is made Deputy of Ireland 144
Improves that Kingdom ib.
Weſton *made Lord-Treaſurer* 123
White *Iſle, the King comes thither, and is made Priſoner by* Hammond *the Governor* 432
The People of the Iſle riſe to reſcue him 436
Williams, *Dr. ſucceeds Lord Chancellor* Bacon 18
He is proſecuted 172
His Sentence 173
He is releaſed out of the Tower *and reſtored to Favour* 175
He and other Biſhops preferred
Windebank, *Colonel, ſhot at* Oxford 388
Witchcraft, Felony without Benefit of Clergy 63
Worceſter *ſurrenders* 408

Y

YORK, *the Governor defeated, and taken Priſoner* 375
It is beſieged 376
Relieved by Prince Rupert ib.
Surrenders to the Rebels 377